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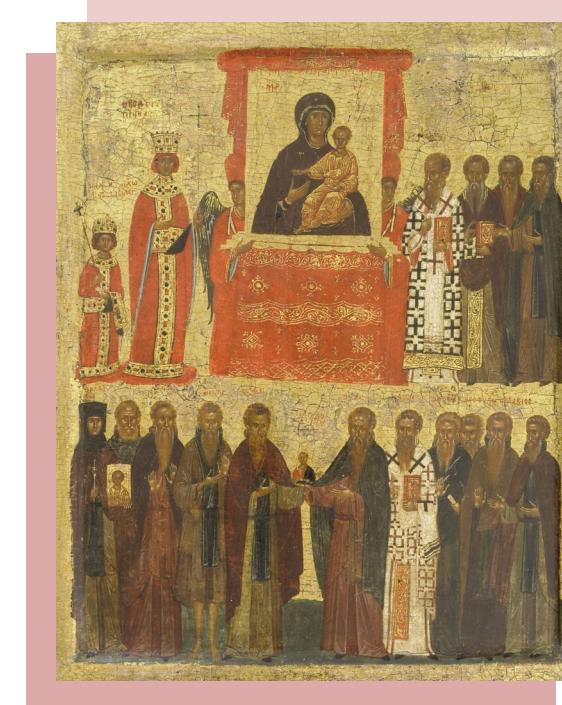
ORTHODOXY AND HERESY IN BYZANTIUM

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THE DEFINITION AND THE NOTION OF ORTHODOXY
AND SOME OTHER STUDIES ON THE HERESIES
AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

Edited by

ANTONIO RIGO - PAVEL ERMILOV



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Cover illustration: Icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy
Constantinople, around 1400 AD (London, British Museum)
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PREFACE

The reader will often find, in almost all the essays of this volume, the name of Jean Gouillard, who nearly fifty years ago (1965) published the article *L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XII^e siècle*, which still remains a fundamental contribution to the studies on heresy in Byzantium. Two years later, he published his edition of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, with a rich introduction and a detailed commentary.

Significantly, it was the same scholar who wrote two of the most important contributions both on Byzantine heresy and on the *Synodikon*, a text which affirms the restoration of Orthodoxy at the end of Iconoclasm and, in its subsequent additions, defines the correct faith in view of the more recent errors (11th and 14th centuries). Gouillard was also constantly interested and attentive to every aspect of religious life in Byzantium (paraphrasing the title of his collection of essays), such as the dualistic heresies, iconoclasm, extreme mysticism between the 10th and 12th centuries and the spirituality of some authors of the *Philocalia*. His wide range of scholarship was accompanied by a rare sympathy and understanding for the religious element and by an extraordinary knowledge of multiple fields: history, philology, theology, philosophy.

Orthodoxy and heresy, central in his research and in the studies of the last decades, were the theme of a session on Byzantine theology at the 20th annual conference of St. Tikhon's Orthodox University of Moscow (13–14 October 2009), as a part of a project on the theology and religious history of Byzantium, to which was dedicated the previous volume *Byzantine Theologians* (2009).

The articles published in this volume were presented at the conference and are centred on the two terms just mentioned and focus on two different but partly overlapping periods: the definition and notion of Orthodoxy from the time of the Triumph of the Images (843) to the 12th century, and heresy (heresies) in Byzantium. In the second part, the contributions analyze the Byzantine concept of heresy, as a deviation to be avoided, but also as a self-definition and element of orientation, an idea which includes also non-Christian religions such as Judaism and Islam.

Thus the essays focus on moments, texts and themes of the confrontation with groups and heretical movements (or considered such) from the 6th to the 14th centuries.

Special thanks goes to the individual contributors and once more we would like to express our most vivid and affectionate gratitude to our friends Francesco D'Aiuto and Santo Lucà who have accepted the volume in this series.

Venice-Moscow, May 2010

A. R. & P. E.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BHG = F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, I-III, Bruxelles 1957³ (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 8a); ID., *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae hagiographicae Graecae*, Bruxelles 1984 (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 65).
- CPG = M. GEERARD (et al.), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I-III, III/A, IV-V + *Supplementum*, Turnhout 1974-2003 (*Corpus Christianorum*).
- PG = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1857-1866.
- PL = *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1844-1864.
- PLP = *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. TRAPP (et al.), Wien 1976-1994.

LE TRIOMPHE DES IMAGES
ET LA NOUVELLE DÉFINITION DE L'ORTHODOXIE.
À PROPOS D'UN CHAPITRE DU *DE CERIMONIIS* (I. 37)

À la fin de la première semaine du Carême, l'Église byzantine célèbre ce que Philothée, en 899, appelle «le dimanche de l'orthodoxie des saintes images» et le *De ceremoniis*, au milieu du X^e siècle, «la fête de l'orthodoxie» tout court¹. Cette célébration est instituée initialement pour commémorer les événements qui, en 843, ont vu la victoire des iconophiles et la défaite des iconomaques, mais elle se transforme par étapes et prend un sens plus général, devenant, pour reprendre les termes de Michel Attaliatès, «de jour de ce qu'on appelle officiellement l'Orthodoxie, jour où l'Église a coutume de distinguer la race des orthodoxes de celle des hérétiques, et d'anathématiser les hétérodoxes»². Cette évolution s'accompagne de celle du texte principal lu au début de la liturgie ce jour-là, le *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*, qui s'enrichit, à partir de la fin du XI^e siècle, de la condamnation d'hérésies nouvelles³. La fête, avec ses rites, ses lectures et ses chants, fournit de ce fait un bon terrain d'observation pour comprendre comment, dans les siècles qui suivent l'époque iconoclaste, les Byzantins ont ressenti et exprimé ce qu'étaient les hérésies qu'ils anathémisaient et l'Orthodoxie dont ils célébraient la victoire.

J'ajouterai que c'est aussi l'occasion, au début de ce colloque où vous

¹ Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ κυριακῇ τῆς τῶν ἀγίων εἰκόνων Ὁρθοδοξίας, PHILOTHÉE, *Traité*, éd. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972 (Le Monde Byzantin), p. 195 (pour la date d'édition de ce traité, voir *ibid.*, p. 65; p. 81, ll. 4-5); *De ceremoniis* I. 37 [éd. E. VOGT, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. Le Livre des cérémonies*, I, Paris 1935, p. 145]. Voir aussi *Theophanes Continuatus*, IV. 10 [éd. Bonn, p. 160]: ἐν τῇ τῆς ὁρθοδοξίας πανηγύρει.

² Περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἐπισήμου λεγομένης Ὁρθοδοξίας, ἐν ᾧ φυλοκρινεῖν τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρθοδόξων καὶ ἀναθέματι καθυποβάλλειν τοὺς ἐτεροδόξους τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ νενόμιμαται, MICHEL ATTALIATÈS, *Histoire*, XI [éd. I. PÉREZ-MARTÍN, *Miguel Attaliates. Historia*, Madrid 2002, p. 106].

³ J. GOUILLARD, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967) pp. 1-316 (désormais: *Synodikon*, pour le texte; GOUILLARD, *Synodikon*, pour le commentaire).

m'avez fait l'honneur de m'inviter, de rendre hommage à un savant dont les travaux restent fondamentaux pour les questions qui nous occupent: Jean Gouillard, auquel nous devons non seulement la belle édition du *Synodikon*, mais aussi, il y a plus de quarante ans, un article novateur qui, pour la première fois, proposait un tableau d'ensemble de l'hérésie dans le Moyen Âge byzantin⁴.

I. LA FÊTE DE L'ORTHODOXIE

Les événements que commémore la fête de l'Orthodoxie sont connus de tous et l'on peut ici se contenter d'un rappel⁵. Le dernier empereur iconoclaste, Théophile, meurt le 20 janvier 842 et l'année suivante, sa veuve, Théodora, appuyée par le logothète Théoctiste et d'autres membres du conseil de régence, réunit un synode qui décide la restauration des images, dépose Jean le Grammaire, et choisit comme patriarche de Constantinople Méthode, élu le 4 mars 843. Le dimanche suivant, 11 mars, premier dimanche du Carême, la restauration des images est proclamée publiquement et Méthode intronisé.

Ces événements sont importants. Ils marquent la fin d'une époque qui avait commencé plus d'un siècle auparavant et renouent avec les décrets du concile de Nicée II, septième œcuménique. Les Byzantins ont conscience de faire revivre les décisions de cette assemblée et insistent sur le fait que la nouvelle politique religieuse engagée par Théodora et son entourage est une restauration. L'auteur du *Synodikon*, à chercher sans doute dans l'entourage de Méthode, note ainsi que Dieu, pour «ramener la piété à elle-même», est intervenu deux fois: une première fois à Nicée II, une deuxième en 843⁶. Ainsi donc, comme le remarque Gouillard, le *Synodikon* «n'instaure pas une doctrine, il en fête la restauration»⁷. En même temps, au X^e siècle en tout cas, les Byzantins sem-

⁴ J. GOUILARD, *L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin jusqu'au XII^e siècle*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* I (1965), pp. 299-324 (où l'auteur, *ibid.*, p. 299, relève «l'absence d'une étude d'ensemble sur l'hérésie dans le monde byzantin, sur la conception qu'on se faisait d'elle et de l'hérésiologie, sur la sociologie et l'éventuelle continuité du phénomène»).

⁵ Voir par ex. G. DAGRON, dans *Histoire du christianisme*, sous la direction de J.-M. MAYEUR - Ch. et L. PIETRI - A. VAUCHEZ - M. VENARD, IV: *Évêques, moines et empereurs*, Paris 1993, pp. 155-162.

⁶ *Synodikon*, p. 47, ll. 37-43.

⁷ GOUILARD, *Synodikon* cit., p. 167. Rappelons que le *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie* n'est pas le décret du synode de 843: voir *ibid.*, pp. 160-168.

blent considérer que le véritable avènement de l'orthodoxie n'est pas Nicée II, mais le synode de 843 et ses suites, qu'ils commémorent annuellement. C'est ainsi que Génésios, dit que la fête célébrant le rétablissement des images se déroule «à l'anniversaire du jour qui a fait l'orthodoxie»⁸. Le concile de Nicée II, commémoré lui aussi, mais moins solennellement, passe à l'arrière-plan⁹.

Le statut particulier et l'importance du rétablissement des images peuvent avoir été perçus assez tôt, mais l'image ne se précise que progressivement. Le récit sur lequel s'achève la *Chronographie* de Georges le Moine, le plus proche des événements, est intéressant par sa trame historique, mais reste maigre¹⁰. Ceux des chroniqueurs du X^e siècle, souvent plus longs, sont en fait moins substantiels, étant pour l'essentiel formés de quelques anecdotes¹¹. Les plus importantes concernent le sort du patriarche déchu, Jean le Grammaire, ou bien encore une campagne de calomnies contre le patriarche Méthode, s'achevant par un procès dont celui-ci sort vainqueur, ses calomniateurs étant condamnés à se joindre à la procession annuelle pour s'entendre anathématiser à la Grande Église; enfin, ce qu'on peut appeler l'absolution de l'empereur Théophile¹², dont

⁸ Κατὰ τὸ τῆς ὁρθοδοξοποιοῦ ἡμέρας γενέθλιον, GÉNÉSIOS, *Règnes*, IV. 5 [éd. A. LESMUELLER-WERNER – H. THURN, Berlin-New York 1978 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 14), p. 60].

⁹ Voir J. MATEOS, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église*, I: *Le cycle des douze mois*, Rome 1962 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 165), p. 67: le 11 octobre, on célèbre à la Grande Église, la mémoire du VII^e concile œcuménique avec une *pannychis*, mais sans participation de l'empereur.

¹⁰ Michel III, après sa mort, se rallie à la foi droite; il réunit un synode, qui proclame l'orthodoxie, dépose Jean le Grammaire, condamne ses partisans, élit Méthode; éloge de ce dernier; sous sa conduite, les orthodoxes prospèrent, l'hérésie décline, les exilés pour la foi sont rappelés: GEORGES LE MOINE, éd. C. DE BOOR (revue par P. WIRTH), Stuttgart 1978, II, pp. 801-803.

¹¹ GÉNÉSIOS, *Règnes*, IV. 2-5 [éd. LESMÜLLER – WERNER – THURN cit., pp. 56-60] (Manuel, guéri miraculeusement, décide Théodora à rétablir les images; déposition de Jean le Grammaire; calomnies contre Méthode, qui prouve son innocence en se déshabillant publiquement; ses adversaires sont condamnés à participer à la procession annuelle du rétablissement des images); *Theophanes Continuatus*, IV. 1-10 [éd. Bonn, pp. 148-160] (Manuel; déposition de Jean le Grammaire; élection de Méthode; Théodora, pour obtenir du synode l'absolution de Théophile, prétend que celui-ci, sur son lit de mort, s'est repenti; célébration de la *pannychis* aux Blachernes avec l'impératrice; procession le matin jusqu'à la Grande Église; Jean le Grammaire, sa carrière; déposé, il attaque encore les images; calomnies contre Méthode, qui prouve son innocence; punition de ses adversaires).

¹² Ce prétendu repentir a fait l'objet d'un récit à part, BHG 1734, récemment édité, traduit et commenté par D. AFENOGOV, *Povest' o proščenii imperatora Feofila*,

l'impératrice Théodora sauve la mémoire par un subterfuge que les continuateurs de Théophane approuvent, mais dont ils ne sont pas les dupes. Les historiens byzantins, plutôt que d'enregistrer le déroulement des événements, ont ainsi opéré une sélection destinée à dégager le sens qu'il faut leur attribuer. Patriarches et empereurs se sont égarés dans l'hérésie et, même s'ils ne sont pas également condamnables, il faut un nouvel empereur et un nouveau patriarche pour que l'orthodoxie soit rétablie, les institutions, au-delà des personnes, restant hors de cause.

L'établissement même de la fête de l'Orthodoxie a fait anciennement l'objet de débats¹³, mais il n'y a pas de raison de douter qu'elle ait été insituée par Méthode lui-même, sans doute dès 844, ce qui ne signifie pas que nous en connaissons la forme initiale¹⁴. Georges le Moine n'en dit mot. Fait plus troublant, elle ne figure pas dans le *Typikon* de la Grande Église édité par Mateos: mais il est attesté, pour la même époque, par la version du même *Typikon* dans le *Dresdensis A 104*¹⁵. Sa première attestation sûre est le traité que Philothée achève en septembre 899 et qui signale la procession menant des Blachernes à Sainte-Sophie, son accueil (par l'empereur) et un banquet au patriarcat après la divine liturgie¹⁶. Au milieu du X^e siècle, Génésios connaît la fête et considère qu'elle était déjà établie déjà lors du procès de Méthode, ce qui peut venir chez lui d'une source ancienne, mais peut être en partie aussi une reconstruction¹⁷. Le *Livre des cérémonies*, pour sa part, consacre au dimanche de l'Orthodoxie tout un chapitre, qui nous intéresse ici spécialement¹⁸.

Ce chapitre, composite, comprend d'abord un ancien protocole de la fête, s'achevant avec les prescriptions pour un banquet au palais¹⁹. Puis le

Moscou 2004. Il est connu des continuateurs de Théophane, qui déclarent toutefois qu'ils ne croient pas au pieux mensonge par lequel Théodora cherche à sauver la mémoire de son mari.

¹³ Voir GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* cit., pp. 129-130.

¹⁴ L'incertitude vient de ce que le *Récit sur l'absolution de Théophile* (voir note 12) semble témoigner d'un autre déroulement de la cérémonie.

¹⁵ Dans le *Typikon*, éd. J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, II, Rome 1963 [Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 166], pp. 20-21, le premier dimanche du Carême est simplement celui des prophètes Moïse et Samuel, en fait, de tous les prophètes, un thème qui reste présent dans le *Synodikon*: cf. GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* cit., p. 134. Pour le *Typikon* de Dresde, voir A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony*, Kiev 1907, pp. 193-197. L'état de la cérémonie attesté par ce document est intermédiaire entre les deux protocoles du *De ceremoniis I. 37*.

¹⁶ PHILOTHÉE, éd. OIKONOMIDÈS cit., p. 195.

¹⁷ GÉNÉSIOS, IV. 5 [éd. LESMÜLLER - WERNER - THURN, cit., p. 60].

¹⁸ *De ceremoniis I. 37* [éd. VOGT, I, cit., pp. 145-148].

¹⁹ *De ceremoniis I. 37* [éd. VOGT, I, cit., pp. 145-147, l. 26].

style change, et un nouveau rédacteur enregistre un autre rituel, qui, d'après une note marginale, a été établi «tout dernièrement»²⁰ et qui diffère de l'ancien sur des points importants²¹. Comme l'a admis Bury, après les travaux de Bielajev, il est raisonnable de dater le protocole récent de l'époque de Constantin VII, dans les années 950 ou peu avant²². Quant au premier protocole, il appartient à la couche la plus ancienne de cette partie du livre. Il faut le situer avant la fin 899, date de rédaction du traité de Philiothéa. Il est plus délicat de proposer un *terminus post quem*. Bielajev situait les chapitres de ce genre sous le règne de Basile, sans exclure Michel III, que Bury, pour sa part, retenait, proposant même une date avant la mort du César Bardas²³. Mais on peut montrer que cette couche de rédaction doit être située plutôt sous Léon VI²⁴. Nous aurions donc l'état de la fête à la fin du neuvième siècle, un demi-siècle après son institution. Sans doute a-t-elle déjà évolué, mais il est difficile de dire dans quelle mesure²⁵. Voyons son déroulement d'après le protocole ancien de *De ceremoniis* I. 37.

Dès le samedi soir, le peuple de Constantinople, le clergé de toutes les églises de la Ville et d'ailleurs ainsi que les moines se rassemblent avec le patriarche à l'église des Blachernes²⁶ où ils célèbrent une *pannychis*. Le dimanche matin, tout le monde se rend en procession des Blachernes à la Grande Église. L'empereur descend les marches de l'Athyra, en contrebas de la cour occidentale de Sainte-Sophie, accueille la procession et la rejoint pour sa dernière section²⁷. Puis a lieu l'entrée (*εἰσοδος*) de la liturgie²⁸. D'autres documents nous apprennent que c'est alors, après le Trisagion, qu'on lit à l'ambon le *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*²⁹.

²⁰ Τοῦτο ἔσχατον ἐπιπόθη, éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 147, en bas de page.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 147, l. 28-148, l. 25.

²² J.B. BURY, *The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos*, dans *The English Historical Review* 22 [87] (juillet 1907), p. 419.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 426.

²⁴ Pour la paramonie des Rameaux, dans un chapitre rédigé dans le même style, il est question par deux fois de l'église Saint-Démétrios du Pharos, qui a été construite par Léon VI: *De ceremoniis* I. 40 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 158, ll. 7-8 et 12].

²⁵ Pour le *Récit sur le repentir de Théophile* (voir plus haut, n. 12), la procession de 843 partait de la Grande Église pour y revenir (cf. GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* cit., p. 132).

²⁶ Sur l'église des Blachernes, grand sanctuaire marital situé à l'endroit où le rempart de la Ville rejoint la Corne d'Or, voir R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, 3: *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969², pp. 161-171.

²⁷ Le *Typikon* de Dresde donne une image plus complète de la cérémonie: l'empereur va rejoindre le patriarche et la procession à quelque distance, à la porte du marché aux fruits (DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnejšie patriarskie tipikony* cit., p. 195).

²⁸ *De ceremoniis* I. 37 [éd. VOGT cit., I, pp. 145-147].

²⁹ Pour la lecture du *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie* après le Trisagion dans l'usage

Il convient d'insister sur la participation impériale, si importante non seulement pour le déroulement de la cérémonie, mais aussi pour le sens qu'on peut lui attribuer. L'empereur, le dimanche matin, se rend du palais à la Grande Église, à laquelle il accède par l'est des tribunes³⁰. Avec son cortège, il descend par la rampe sud-ouest³¹, puis se porte à la rencontre de la procession en bas des marches de l'Athyra, qui relient l'atrium occidental de Sainte-Sophie avec la voie publique. Selon le protocole habituel il fait ensuite procession jusqu'au narthex, où il attend le patriarche, avec lequel il célèbre l'*eisodos* et se rend jusqu'au chancel. Mais ce jour-là, il n'entre pas au sanctuaire³². Il se rend au *mutatorium*, dont il ne sortira ni pour la grande entrée ni pour le baiser de paix comme il le fait d'habitude lors des grandes *proéleuseis*³³. Pour la communion, il sort et va jusqu'au chancel. Après la liturgie, il retourne au palais où a lieu le banquet.

Voilà pour le protocole ancien. Le protocole le plus récent enregistre des changements importants. Désormais, les souverains entrent au sanctuaire³⁴, puis ils montent dans les tribunes, où ils assistent au début de la liturgie, jusqu'à l'ecténie suivant l'évangile. Ensuite, se désintéressant de la

ancien (elle n'est pas signalée dans le *De ceremoniis*), voir GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* cit., p. 6 et n. 33, pp. 13-14.

³⁰ L'empereur vient à la Grande Église sans cérémonie; il emprunte les passages de la Magnaure, puis accède aux tribunes par l'escalier de bois extérieur qui se trouve au sud-est de l'église (*De ceremoniis*, I. 37 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 145, ll. 17-21]).

³¹ Κατέρχεται διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κοχλίου (*De ceremoniis*, I. 37 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 146, ll. 7-8]). Pour ce trajet et l'identification du *mégas kochlias*, voir C. STRUBE, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1973, pp. 52-54.

³² Ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ εἰσέρχεται (*De ceremoniis* I. 37, éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 147, ll. 4-5). Le fait est confirmé par le *Typikon* de Dresde, qui, après avoir noté que, pour l'entrée, le patriarche et l'empereur sont ensemble, montre l'empereur priant devant les saintes portes, puis gagnant le *mutatorium* tandis que le patriarche entre au sanctuaire pour célébrer: DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony* cit., p. 195.

³³ Lors des cinq grandes fêtes du Seigneur (Pâques, Pentecôte, Transfiguration, Noël, Épiphanie), l'empereur se rend à Sainte-Sophie pour la divine liturgie. Lors de l'entrée, il pénètre au sanctuaire, puis se rend au *mutatorium* dont il sort pour la grande entrée, le baiser de paix et la communion: voir *De ceremoniis* I. 1; I. 18; I. 32; I. 35 [éd. VOGT cit., I, pp. 10-13, 58-61, 122-124, 135]. L'entrée au sanctuaire a lieu aussi en d'autres occasions, dans d'autres églises (par ex. aux Blachernes pour l'Hypapante: *De ceremoniis* I. 35 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 140]). À Sainte-Sophie, l'empereur entre aussi au sanctuaire quand il participe à une procession partant de la Grande Église (par ex., pour la Nativité de la Vierge et l'Annonciation: *De ceremoniis* I. 1 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 22]).

³⁴ *De ceremoniis* I. 37 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 147, ll. 29-30].

messe, ils dressent la liste des invités au banquet qui suivra et qui aura lieu au patriarcat. Une note finale rappelle que, sous le patriarche Théophylacte (qui meurt en 956), le patriarche donnait un dessert près de la chapelle Saint-Théophylacte³⁵.

Ce cérémonial, particulier par certains aspects, a retenu l'attention et des interprétations ont été proposées. Selon A. Vogt, le dernier éditeur du *Livre des cérémonies*, «ce protocole a valeur d'un symbole historique», et «l'empereur agit, protocolairement, comme si, pénitent, il rendait Sainte-Sophie au culte orthodoxe»³⁶. C'est pourquoi il ne participe pas à la procession dès le début, c'est pourquoi, aussi, il n'entre pas au sanctuaire comme il le fait ordinairement: «La réconciliation fictive (de l'empereur et de l'Église) se fait, dit Vogt, au moment de la communion»³⁷. Cette interprétation de la cérémonie a été adoptée par de bons auteurs. C'est ainsi que D. Afinogenov, dans un article utile pour l'histoire ancienne de la fête, parle d'une «pénitence impériale» (*Imperial Repentance*) et voit lui aussi, dans le déroulement de la cérémonie, après la fin de la dernière grande hérésie, une image de la «réconciliation de l'Église avec l'État»³⁸. Selon cette interprétation, le rétablissement de l'orthodoxie passerait par une pénitence impériale, prix à payer – par l'empereur – pour que l'union de l'Église et de l'Empire se reconstitue autour de la vraie doctrine. André Grabar, de son côté, donne une autre explication, éloignée de toute considération idéologique, du fait que l'empereur n'entre pas au sanctuaire: en 843, et dans les années qui suivent, c'est Théodora qui participe à la cérémonie, et une femme ne peut entrer au sanctuaire. Cette particularité se serait perpétuée par la suite³⁹.

Je reviendrai pour finir sur les sens qui ressort de ce protocole, mais je voudrais tout de suite signaler quelques points par lesquels la cérémonie du dimanche de l'Orthodoxie se distingue. La participation de l'empereur à cette fête est notable. Il y a, en effet, dans l'année liturgique, d'autres fêtes commémoratives de conciles, en l'occurrence des conciles œcuméniques, et l'empereur n'y vient pas⁴⁰. Deuxièmement, il est inha-

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148. 19-25. Il est probable que la mort de Théophylacte fournit un *terminus post quem* pour la rédaction finale du chapitre I. 37.

³⁶ VOGT, *Commentaire*, I, p. 162.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁸ D. AFINOGENOV, *Imperial Repentance: The Solemn Procession in Constantinople on March 11, 843*, dans *Eranos* 97 (1999), pp. 2-3, 7.

³⁹ A. GRABAR, *L'iconoclasme byzantin. Le dossier archéologique*, Paris 1984, pp. 214-218.

⁴⁰ Chacun des sept conciles œcuméniques est commémoré un jour spécial, à

bituel qu'une procession parte d'une église de la ville pour aboutir à Sainte-Sophie, où l'on célèbre la liturgie: le plus souvent, les processions, de rogations ou festives, vont de Sainte-Sophie à une église en ville (les Saints-Apôtres, par exemple⁴¹, ou toute autre église stationale), souvent en passant par le Forum⁴². Troisièmement, le fait que l'empereur, venant participer à la liturgie à Sainte-Sophie depuis le *mutatorium*⁴³ du bas, n'entre pas au sanctuaire et qu'il ne sorte ni pour la grande entrée ni pour le baiser de paix est remarquable. Il peut arriver que l'empereur, assistant à la messe depuis les tribunes, n'entre pas au sanctuaire et ne participe pas à la procession des saints dons, ni au baiser de paix⁴⁴. En cas de coïncidence entre le premier lundi du carême et l'Hypapantè, le rédacteur du *De ceremoniis* note que, ce jour-là, à Sainte-Sophie, l'empereur n'entre pas au sanctuaire⁴⁵: mais ce jour-là, l'empereur vient assister à la *tritoektè*, qu'il suivra depuis le *mutatorium*; après quoi, aux Blachernes, pour la liturgie, il entre au sanctuaire. Pour les cinq grandes fêtes du Seigneur, quand l'empereur vient à Sainte-Sophie pour participer à la divine liturgie, il entre au sanctuaire et quitte trois fois le *mutatorium*⁴⁶ (pour la grande entrée, le baiser de paix et la communion). Au contraire, le fait que l'empereur ne participe pas à la procession depuis les Blachernes est le résultat d'une évolution assez banale.

Le caractère composite du chapitre I. 37 du *Livre des cérémonies* montre bien en effet que les cérémonies sont soumises au changement, et, pour

quoi s'ajoute, le premier dimanche avant la Pentecôte, une célébration des six premiers conciles: voir MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, II, cit., p. 261, s.v. σύνοδος.

⁴¹ Voir par ex., pour le lundi du Renouveau, *De ceremoniis* I. 19 [éd. VOGT cit., I, pp. 67-69]; MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, II, cit., p. 99.

⁴² Pour les processions à Constantinople, voir J.F. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Rome 1987 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 228), pp. 208-226 (qui note cependant, *ibid.*, pp. 217-218, qu'à époque ancienne, avant l'iconoclasme, il est probable qu'un plus grand nombre de processions aient conduit à la Grande Église; cette reconstruction ne nous paraît pas assurée).

⁴³ L'empereur, à Sainte-Sophie, dispose de deux *mutatoria* permanents. Le plus important est à l'extrême orientale du bas-côté méridional, l'autre dans les tribunes. Pour des raisons évidentes, quand l'empereur doit participer pleinement à la liturgie, et donc à la procession de la grande entrée, au baiser de paix donné à la barrière de chancel et à la communion, il utilise le *mutatorium* principal, en bas.

⁴⁴ C'est le cas selon un protocole conservé pour le dimanche de l'Antipascha: *De ceremoniis* I. 25 [éd. VOGT cit., I, pp. 90-91].

⁴⁵ *De ceremoniis* I. 37 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 143, ll. 20-25].

⁴⁶ Voir *De ceremoniis* I. 1 [éd. VOGT cit., I, pp. 11-13]; voir aussi I. <18> (Pâques, I. 9 pour Vogt); I. 32; I. 35.

le dimanche de l'Orthodoxie aussi, il faut tenir compte d'une évolution des rites. Comme nous venons de le dire, le fait que l'empereur participe seulement à la fin de la procession est secondaire: pour d'autres fêtes, on peut montrer qu'anciennement l'empereur suivait l'ensemble d'une procession, puis que, le temps passant, pour alléger ses obligations, il se contentait de la rejoindre pour sa dernière section⁴⁷. La participation de l'empereur à la fête de l'Orthodoxie, à mesure qu'on s'éloigne de 843, se fait moins active: d'après Génésios, Théodora avait participé à la *pannychis* aux Blachernes et à la procession depuis cette église; sous Léon VI déjà (protocole ancien de *De ceremoniis* I. 37), l'empereur ne se joint plus à la procession que sur sa fin. Une autre évolution, plus nette, se constate entre le cérémonial ancien et celui qui est observé sous Constantin VII: l'empereur, désormais, entre au sanctuaire. Il ne suit plus l'ensemble de la liturgie depuis le *mutatorium* principal, mais se rend dans les tribunes, où il écoute l'évangile et l'ecténie, une formule plus légère qu'on retrouve en d'autres occasions⁴⁸. Enfin, le banquet n'a plus lieu au palais, mais au patriarcat. Ces changements ne se sont pas produits tous en même temps. Dès 899, d'après le témoignage de Philothée, le banquet se déroule au patriarcat. C'est le cas aussi dans le *Typikon* de Dresde, qui témoigne cependant d'un état du cérémonial où l'empereur n'entre pas au sanctuaire⁴⁹. D'après la note marginale dans le manuscrit de Leipzig, le protocole nouveau a été établi «tout dernièrement»: sans doute la note, de l'époque de Constantin VII, se réfère-t-elle particulièrement à l'entrée de l'empereur au sanctuaire au début de la divine liturgie. À l'époque de

⁴⁷ C'est le cas pour l'Hypapante: vers 600, l'empereur Maurice participe à l'ensemble de la procession qui va de la Grande Église aux Blachernes (THÉOPHYLAKTOS SIMOKATTÈS, *Historiae VIII.* 4. 11-VIII. 5. 4 [éd. C. DE BOOR, revue par P. WIRTH, Stuttgart 1972, pp. 291-292]; selon le *De ceremoniis*, l'empereur, venu au palais des Blachernes indépendamment, accueille la procession ecclésiastique non loin de l'église de la Théotokos (*De ceremoniis* I. 36, éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 139). De même, pour le lundi de Pâques, selon le protocole ancien (*De ceremoniis* I. 19, éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 67), l'empereur se joint à la procession qui va de la Grande Église aux Saints-Apôtres. Mais Léon VI réforme le protocole. Désormais, l'empereur va aux Saints-Apôtres à cheval (*De ceremoniis* I. 19, éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 77); il est certain qu'il doit accueillir la procession ecclésiastique comme il le fait en d'autres occasions.

⁴⁸ Par exemple, pour l'Annonciation, le protocole ancien prévoyait que l'empereur assiste à l'ensemble de la divine liturgie depuis les tribunes des Chalkoprateia (*De ceremoniis* I. 39, éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 155). Selon le protocole récent de la Nativité de la Vierge, qui vaut aussi pour l'Annonciation (*De ceremoniis* I. 1, éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 25), il ne monte plus dans les tribunes et assiste seulement à la messe des catéchumènes, jusqu'à l'ecténie suivant l'évangile.

⁴⁹ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnejšie patriarskie tipikony* cit., pp. 193-195.

Constantin VII, au terme d'une évolution d'un siècle, la participation impériale a donc perdu ses particularités et, tout en s'allégeant considérablement, elle s'est alignée sur d'autres cérémonies. La présence de l'empereur, même réduite, et dont le *Typikon* de Dresde note qu'elle est facultative⁵⁰, donne cependant à la fête une assez grande solennité.

Le *Synodikon* évolue lui aussi au cours des siècles. Sa dernière partie, ce que Gouillard appelle «les diptyques», s'enrichit, la liste des patriarches et des empereurs orthodoxes, suivis de vœux «d'éternelle mémoire» ou de souhaits de long règne s'allongeant⁵¹. On sait aussi que Jean Gouillard distingue trois recensions: M, le *Synodikon* macédonien, encore proche de l'original; C, sous les Comnènes; P, sous les Paléologues, où la deuxième partie du texte s'ouvre à la condamnation d'hérésies théologiques postérieures à l'iconoclasme, cette évolution se produisant à partir de la fin du XI^e siècle⁵².

Deux historiens témoignent eux aussi du sens dont se charge, sur la longue durée, la fête de l'Orthodoxie. Attaliatès, cité plus haut, voit dans cette fête un jour où les hérétiques, dans leur ensemble, sont distingués des orthodoxes et soumis à l'anathème⁵³. Sans doute est-il sensible, avant même l'époque des Comnènes, à un anathématisme que le *Synodikon* reprend du concile de Nicée: «À tous les hérétiques, anathème!»⁵⁴. Dans les années 1350, Nicéphore Grégoras, préfère voir dans le dimanche de l'Orthodoxie «le jour où doit être proclamée publiquement la mémoire à la fois des *basileis* et des patriarches orthodoxes»⁵⁵. C'est-à-dire qu'il passe sous silence les parties doctrinales et les anathèmes du *Synodikon*, pour s'intéresser aux diptyques, qui définissent l'orthodoxie par référence aux deux séries, toutes deux épurées, des patriarches et des empereurs. Cette évolution, sur la longue durée, n'est pas accidentelle. La célébration du rétablissement des images, par sa nature particulière, se prêtait à ces transformations et à cette généralisation.

⁵⁰ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony* cit., p. 195.

⁵¹ GOUILARD, *Synodikon* cit., pp. 2-3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵³ Voir plus haut, n. 2.

⁵⁴ *Synodikon* cit., p. 93, l. 752.

⁵⁵ Τὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐβδομάδος τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς σάββατον, ὅπότε δὴ καὶ ἔμελλε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ κηρύγμασθαι δημοσίᾳ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἡ μνήμη βασιλέων ὁμοῦ καὶ πατριαρχῶν (GRÉGORAS, *Historia Romana*, VIII. 5, éd. SCHOPEN, I, Bonn 1829, p. 303, ll. 14-17).

II. HÉRÉSIE ET ORTHODOXIE

Pour expliquer cette évolution, il faut examiner le couple presque inséparable que forment l'orthodoxie et l'hérésie et rappeler quelques aspects nouveaux du sens de ces deux termes pour l'époque qui s'ouvre avec la restauration des images en 843.

Pour définir ce qu'est, à Byzance, un hérétique, on peut recourir à un texte du code Justinien, qui naît de la contamination de plusieurs lois du code théodosien, et qui, traversant les siècles, se retrouve, à l'époque médiévale, dans l'*Epanagôgè aucta* d'après laquelle je le cite: «est hérétique et tombe sous le coup des lois contre les hérétiques celui qui dévie même légèrement de la foi orthodoxe»⁵⁶. Cette définition, par sa généralité même, paraît difficile à mettre en œuvre et pose à son tour plusieurs questions, dont celle de l'instance qui décide de la foi orthodoxe. L'analyse des codes permettrait de préciser quel est, dans ce domaine, le rôle des grands sièges, des conciles, des lois impériales. Mais à côté de cette définition générale, il faut insister aussi sur l'existence, dans les mêmes codes, d'un instrument plus commode qui permet de préciser qui sont les hérétiques visés par les lois. Il s'agit des listes d'hérésies. Dans le Code théodosien, une loi de 428, en nomme une trentaine, auxquelles elle ajoute «ceux qui sont parvenus au comble des dérèglements et des crimes, les Manichéens»⁵⁷. Cette liste passe dans le *Corpus juris civilis*, et nous la retrouvons, à l'époque médiévale, dans l'*Epanagôgè aucta* et dans l'*Ecloga ad Procheiron mutata*⁵⁸. Laissant de côté, dans la diversité religieuse de l'Empire, les religions autres que le christianisme, elle désigne une série d'hérésies anciennes, toutes antérieures au concile d'Éphèse, et met à part, comme un cas limite, les Manichéens. Surabondante, elle cherche à montrer la multiplicité de l'erreur, qui s'oppose à l'unique vérité de la vraie foi. Les traités d'hérésiologie font de même. Le plus illustre, encore donné en modèle par Théodore Studite⁵⁹, est bien sûr le *Panarion d'Épiphane*⁶⁰, que reprennent et prolongent deux traités du VIII^e siècle, ceux

⁵⁶ Αἵρετικός δέ ἐστι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τῶν αἵρετικῶν ὑπόκειται νόμοις ὁ μικρὸν γοῦν ἐκκλήσιν τῆς ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως, *Epanagôgè aucta*, tit. LIII. 4 [J. et P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, VI, Athènes 1931, p. 213]; cf. *Codex Justinianus* I, 5, 2.

⁵⁷ *Codex Theodosianus*, XVI, 5, 65.

⁵⁸ *Codex Justinianus* I, 5, 5; *Epanagôgè aucta*, tit. LIII. 12 [ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, VI, cit., p. 214]; *Ecloga ad Procheiron mutata*, tit. XXVI 5 [*ibid.*, p. 297].

⁵⁹ THEODORUS STUDITA, *Epist.*, I, 40 [éd. G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, I, Berlin, New York 1992 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 31/1), p. 115, l. 20-25].

⁶⁰ CPG 3745.

de Jean Damascène et de Germain de Constantinople⁶¹. L'image qu'ils donnent de l'hérésie est à la fois celle d'une profusion anarchique – alors qu'en fait, les hérésies qui comptent réellement, comme nous le voyons par d'autres sources, sont peu nombreuses⁶² – et d'une homogénéité, les hérésies nouvelles pouvant en fait être ramenées à des hérésies anciennes, dont elles découlent. L'«hérésie» iconomaque peut sans peine être intégrée à cette liste, à laquelle on la rattache par diverses généalogies, qui ne doivent pas faire illusion ni masquer son originalité.

Le *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie* est proche surtout des séries de *synodika* liturgiques dans lesquelles il s'insère, c'est-à-dire des décrets conciliaires ou synodaux, remaniés, tels qu'ils étaient lus à lors des fêtes commémoratives des divers conciles. En voici la liste: le décret du IV^e concile œcuménique; celui du concile de 536 contre Sévère; ceux des VI^e et VII^e conciles; le *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*; le tome de l'Union de 920⁶³.

La composition de cette liste est intéressante, non seulement parce qu'elle complète les listes anciennes d'hérésies à partir du concile de Chalcédoine, mais aussi parce qu'elle montre la nouveauté du *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*: alors que les premiers décrets reflètent les décisions de conciles œcuméniques (rappelons que le décret contre Sévère est souvent attribué par les Byzantins au cinquième concile)⁶⁴, le *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie* renvoie à la décision d'un synode constantinopolitain, celui de 843, le VII^e concile œcuménique ne servant qu'indirectement de référence. Il faut souligner l'importance de ce fait: les hérésies qu'enregistre le *Synodikon* sont définies par les condamnations portées par le synode de l'Église de Constantinople. L'âge de l'œcuménicité est en fait révolu. Et parce qu'il enregistre, dès son origine, une décision synodale, le *Synodikon* peut s'enrichir d'autres décisions provenant de la même instance.

Nous pouvons relever une autre particularité, importante elle aussi, de l'orthodoxie fêtée le premier dimanche de Carême en nous tournant par exemple vers un poème liturgique chanté à cette occasion. Il s'agit du tropaire de procession dont le *De ceremoniis* donne l'*incipit*⁶⁵. Certai-

⁶¹ JEAN DAMASCÈNE, *De haeresibus*: PG 94, coll. 677-780; GERMAIN DE CONSTANTINOPLE, *De haeresibus et synodis*: PG 98, 40-88 (CPG 8044, 8020).

⁶² Voir GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie* cit., pp. 303-304 (pour l'époque avant l'iconoclasme).

⁶³ Cf. GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* cit., pp. 6-7.

⁶⁴ Voir R. JENKINS - C. MANGO, *A Synodicon of Antioch and Lacedaemonia*, dans *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), p. 233; GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* cit., p. 8.

⁶⁵ *De ceremoniis* I. 37 [éd. VOGT cit., I, p. 147]. C'est aussi le tropaire de proces-

nément ancien, sans qu'on puisse garantir qu'il soit primitif, il a disparu du *Triodion* actuel, mais on le lit dans de nombreux manuscrits. En voici le texte: Τὴν τῶν ἀληθινῶν δογμάτων φαιδρότητα καὶ τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τῶν εἰκόνων ἀνατύπωσιν ἡ ἐκκλησία σου κεκοσμημένη τῷ σταυρῷ σου κεκαύχηται, Χριστὲ ὁ θεός, καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν εἰς μίαν ἀναγόμενοι πίστιν (ou bien: πίστιν ἀναγόμενοι), δοξάζομεν τὴν ἀκατάληπτὸν σου μεγαλειότητα⁶⁶. C'est-à-dire: «Ton Église, Christ Dieu, ornée par ta croix, s'enorgueillit de l'éclat des dogmes véritables et de la noble représentation des images. Par elles⁶⁷, nous sommes conduits vers une foi unanime et nous glorifions ton incompréhensible grandeur».

Dans sa brièveté, ce tropaire est instructif sur ce que peut être, pour l'époque, le contenu de la foi orthodoxe. Il s'agit, c'est évident, de la vérité du dogme, et il serait paradoxal de contester que la distinction entre l'hérésie et l'orthodoxie, par exemple lors de la querelle des images, mais aussi de façon générale, concerne la théologie. Mais il est légitime de poser chaque fois la question de la place et de la vraie fonction de celle-ci. Importante, essentielle souvent, en particulier pour les hérésies récentes qui, à partir des Comnènes, sont condamnées dans le *Synodikon*, elle n'est pas exclusive, à moins d'étendre la définition de ce qu'on entend par théologie. À côté des dogmes, le tropaire fait ici une place à ce qui est une réalité ou une pratique: la représentation des images, τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τῶν εἰκόνων ἀνατύπωσιν. Un anathématisme, qui figure à la fois dans certains manuscrits du *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie* et dans le Tome d'Union de 920, conduit vers les mêmes observations. Le voici: «Tout ce qui a été innové, a été perpétré ou pourra l'être encore à l'encontre de la tradition ecclésiastique, de l'enseignement et des règles des saints et glorieux pères, anathème!»⁶⁸. Les déviations condamnées, les

sion attesté par le *Typpikon* de Dresde, qui signale deux autres hymnes, plus théologiques, pour la cérémonie: le *kontakion* de Tarasios Ο ἀπερίγραπτος Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκ σοῦ, Θεοτόκε, περιεγράφῃ σαρκούμενος... et l'ancien tropaire Τὴν ἀχραντὸν εἰκόνα σου... (DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneješie patriaršie tipikony* cit., pp. 193-196).

⁶⁶ Cité d'après les *Sin. gr.* 737, f. 102 et le *Sin. gr.* 734, f. 83v.

⁶⁷ Nous comprenons qu'il s'agit des images. On peut traduire aussi: «par eux» (c'est-à-dire, par les dogmes et par la représentation des images).

⁶⁸ *Synodikon* cit., p. 53, ll. 117-119: ἀπαντά τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν ἄγιων καὶ ἀοιδῶν πατέρων καινοτομηθέντα καὶ πραχθέντα ἢ μετὰ τούτο πραχθησόμενα, ἀνάθεμα, cf. trad. GOUILARD, *ibid.*, p. 52. On retrouve cet anathème dans le Tome d'Union: J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XVIII, réimpr. Graz 1960, col. 341. Pour GOUILARD, *Synodikon* cit., p. 148, il est probable cependant qu'il est passé du *Synodikon* au Tome, et non

«hérésies», ne concernent pas seulement les dogmes, mais des règles de conduite ou des pratiques, qu'il s'agisse de la confection et de la vénération des images, ou, pour l'Union de 920, des règles concernant le mariage. Sans doute est-ce une banalité de le souligner, mais il est important de le faire: l'hérésie des iconomaques n'est pas seulement affaire de dogme et de christologie, mais aussi, directement, de culte, dogmes et pratiques faisant semblablement partie de la tradition écrite ou non écrite de l'Église et de la définition de l'orthodoxie. Par rapport aux anciens décrets conciliaires, il y a, là aussi, une nouveauté notable. Et l'on peut relever que la pratique du culte des images, telle qu'elle se développe Byzance, n'est pas une pratique générale dans la chrétienté médiévale. Ce culte, imposé à toute l'Eglise par le concile œcuménique de Nicée II, et dont les Byzantins font la pierre de touche de l'orthodoxie, leur est en fait particulier sous les formes qu'ils promeuvent et constitue de ce fait un marqueur identitaire particulièrement efficace.

L'ancien tropaire que j'ai cité contient encore un élément important. Il s'agit de l'unanimité de la foi. Les dogmes véridiques et les images restaurées ramènent l'Église à une foi unique. L'hérésie, au contraire, est un facteur de division. Le signe de l'orthodoxie est l'unanimité de l'Église, qu'elle seule peut assurer. Comme le *Synodikon* le rappelle clairement, l'orthodoxie est: «la foi des apôtres, c'est la foi des Pères, c'est la foi des orthodoxes, c'est la foi qui a affermi l'*oikouménè*⁶⁹. C'est-à-dire que, par définition, l'orthodoxie, dans le temps, est et a toujours été la foi de l'Église, et dans l'espace, elle est la foi de l'Église universelle, l'hérésie, de son côté, étant une nouveauté et la foi d'une fraction de l'Église, qu'elle divise. Il y a là un fonds toujours présent, une constante idéologique qui informe les textes polémiques et hésiologiques. De ce point de vue, les Byzantins, en 843, sont confrontés à une situation difficile: leur Église et leur Empire, en effet – à l'exception de quelques confesseurs glorieux – avaient été en fait unis, souverains et patriarches, sénat et synode en tête, dans l'hérésie. Seule des grands patriarcats, Constantinople s'était écartée des décisions de Nicée II. Il y a risqué que le triomphe des images se fasse au prix d'une condamnation de l'Église byzantine, qui n'aurait pas su rester orthodoxe.

l'inverse. Mais F. Lauritzen, ici même, montre que cet anathème ne figure que dans un groupe spécial de témoins du *Synodikon*, ce qui indiquerait qu'il est secondaire dans ce texte.

⁶⁹ *Synodikon* cit., p. 51, ll. 106-107.

III. LES ORTHODOXES

Le *Synodikon* et la fête de l'Orthodoxie écartent ce danger et proposent une autre image de ces événements. Il s'agit ici non seulement du rétablissement de la foi droite et des rites, mais aussi de la reconstitution et de la cohésion, autour de l'*eusébéia* restaurée, de ce que Georges le Moine appelle le σύστημα τῶν ὁρθοδόξων, le corps, la société des orthodoxes⁷⁰. Et tout d'abord l'Église.

Le *Synodikon* en recompose l'histoire en établissant deux listes parallèles. La première est celle de la véritable Église de Constantinople, celle des orthodoxes, acclamés dans l'ordre hiérarchique: les patriarches tout d'abord, de Germain à Méthode (dans le texte que nous lisons, celui de l'époque des Macédoniens), puis les métropolites, archevêques et évêques, enfin les moines⁷¹. Il s'agit de célébrer les confesseurs de la vraie foi, mais aussi de donner l'image d'une continuité: l'Église de Constantinople n'a pas cessé d'être orthodoxe. Quant aux hérétiques⁷², soumis à l'anathème, privés de leur titre, ils en sont exclus. Les empereurs, pour leur part, ne sont pas oubliés, mais le *Synodikon* ne cherche pas à dresser une liste des souverains orthodoxes, non plus du reste qu'il ne condamne ceux qui se sont écartés de la vraie foi. Il s'achève simplement par un *polychronion* pour les souverains qui ont rétabli les images, Michel et Théodora⁷³.

Le déroulement de la fête, quant à lui, met d'abord en évidence son unité dans l'Orthodoxie retrouvée. La célébration n'a pas lieu dans toutes les églises, le clergé et le peuple de Constantinople étant réunis tout entiers pour une longue procession qui comprend les évêques, le clergé, les moines, le peuple. Elle est conduite par le patriarche, et l'empereur y participe. On conserve le souvenir que Théodora avait assisté à la *pannychis* des Blachernes et à la procession conduisant à la Grande Église⁷⁴ et, sous les Macédoniens encore, l'empereur se joint à la procession, même si sa participation devient moins active. Le thème d'une pénitence impériale, ou d'une réconciliation de l'Église et de l'État, ne trouve guère d'appui ni dans les textes, ni dans un cérémonial qui célèbre au contraire l'unité dans la foi. Quand Léon VI, en délicatesse avec le patriarcat à la suite de ses trop nombreux mariages, est conduit à faire pénitence, Nico-

⁷⁰ GEORGES LE MOINE [éd. DE BOOR, revue par WIRTH, p. 803, l. 12].

⁷¹ *Synodikon* cit., p. 51, l. 108-53, l. 132.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 57, ll. 171-179.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 93, ll. 766-770.

⁷⁴ *Theophanes Continuatus* IV. 6 [éd. Bonn, p. 154].

las *Mystikos* l'arrête au narthex de la Grande Église, et refuse de célébrer avec lui l'*eisodos*. Il est alors contraint de passer par la porte latérale pour se rendre au *mutatorium*⁷⁵. Pour le dimanche de l'Orthodoxie, nous ne voyons rien de tel. La participation de l'empereur à la procession s'est réduite avec le temps. Mais il est bien dans la procession, qu'il suit depuis le marché aux fruits, ou le bas des marches de l'Athyre⁷⁶ jusqu'au narthex, et il entre dans l'église avec le patriarche. C'est le point important. Le fait que le souverain n'entre pas au sanctuaire et ne participe ni à la grande entrée, ni au baiser de paix, reste cependant surprenant. Une explication circonstancielle, comme celle que proposait Grabar, est possible. Mais il n'est pas exclu aussi qu'en ce jour on ait voulu marquer plus nettement les limites de la place de l'empereur dans l'Église. Sous les Macédoniens, cette limitation s'efface et la cérémonie réformée marque l'unité, non seulement de l'Église orthodoxe, mais de l'Empire chrétien dans l'orthodoxie, un empire dont les hérétiques, vaincus, sont exclus.

Au-delà de l'affirmation d'une unité, la procession a en effet d'autres sens. D'après Génésios, qui emploie l'expression de «triomphe sur l'apostasie»⁷⁷, elle prend assez vite, ou développe, un aspect proprement triomphal, lorsque les adversaires de Méthode – le lecteur comprend qu'il s'agit des iconoclastes – sont contraints, cierge à la main, de la suivre leur vie durant pour s'entendre anathématiser à la Grande Église. Le triomphe de l'orthodoxie, comme d'autres triomphes, se traduit par l'humiliation publique des ennemis vaincus.

Un autre trait notable de cette procession, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, est qu'elle a pour terme Sainte-Sophie, au lieu d'en partir. Dans le *Typikon* de la Grande Église, nous en avons relevé deux exemples significatifs. Pour la Dédicace de Sainte-Sophie, le 24 décembre, la procession part de la cette église pour y revenir⁷⁸. Pour le dimanche des Rameaux, elle part d'une église de la Ville et revient à la Grande Église pour la liturgie⁷⁹. Dans le premier cas, la seule surprise vient du point de départ: on aurait attendu que, pour les *enkainia*, on parte d'un autre

⁷⁵ *Vie d'Euthyme le Patriarche*, XII [éd. P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP*, Text, Translation, Introduction and Commentary, Bruxelles 1970 (Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 3), p. 75].

⁷⁶ Voir plus haut n. 27.

⁷⁷ ἐπὶ θριάμβῳ τῆς παντομούσης αὐτῶν ἀποστάσεως, GÉNÉSIOS, IV. 5 [éd. LESMÜLLER-WERNER - THURN cit., p. 60].

⁷⁸ MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, I, cit., p. 144.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 66.

endroit que de l'église dont on célèbre la dédicace. Il est probable que l'organisation de la procession a évolué: selon Théophane, pour les deux dédicaces de Sainte-Sophie, sous Justinien, la procession s'était rendue à la Grande Église en partant de Sainte-Anastasie la première fois, de Saint-Platon la seconde⁸⁰. Pour les Rameaux, la divine liturgie doit être célébrée dans l'église principale, mais une procession commémorant l'entrée de Jésus à Jérusalem s'imposait⁸¹.

La procession du dimanche de l'Orthodoxie nous paraît proche de ces deux cas. Le thème des *enkainia* est en effet présent dans le *Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*⁸², et la procession des Rameaux fournit elle aussi un parallèle pertinent dans la mesure où il s'agit, en ce jour, pour le peuple orthodoxe, d'entrer dans la Jérusalem Nouvelle. Relisons le titre du *Synodikon*: «Action de grâces anniversaire, due à Dieu le jour où nous avons recouvré l'Église de Dieu, avec la proclamation des dogmes de la religion et la déroute des impiétés malignes»⁸³. Ce qui est célébré, c'est le jour où les orthodoxes reprennent possession de l'Église. Cette expression doit s'entendre aussi d'une façon toute concrète: les orthodoxes recouvrent Sainte-Sophie. Le *Synodikon* fait ici référence à l'Exode: «après la traversée du désert», les orthodoxes sont «entrés en possession de la Jérusalem spirituelle»⁸⁴. L'Église, véritable Israël, après une longue tribulation, entre dans la Nouvelle Sion.

Il faut rappeler cependant quelques limitations importantes. L'Église, qui triomphe en ce jour n'est pas l'Église, universelle, mais celle de Constantinople. La fête de l'Orthodoxie est tout d'abord, jusqu'à une époque indéterminée, une fête constantinopolitaine. Elle ne se généralisera qu'ensuite.

⁸⁰ THÉOPHANE, éd. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis Chronographia*, I, Leipzig 1883, p. 217, l. 20; p. 238, ll. 18-24. Il est naturel que, pour la véritable dédicace de l'église, la cérémonie ait été plus solennelle que pour sa commémoration annuelle. Mais il est intéressant de noter que, pour le *Récit sur le repentir de Théophile*, la procession ait le même trajet que pour la célébration annuelle de la dédicace de la Grande Église, le rédacteur soulignant son double aspect, pénitentiel à l'aller, triomphal au retour. Si ce récit n'a guère d'autorité pour les événements de 843, on ne peut exclure qu'il témoigne d'un état de la célébration à une époque indéterminée: voir éd. AFENOGOV cit. (cf. n. 12), p. 104, ll. 367-392.

⁸¹ BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character* cit. (cf. n. 41), p. 210, note bien le caractère particulier de cette procession, dont l'organisation s'inspire ancienement de Jérusalem.

⁸² *Synodikon* cit. p. 45. 4-15.

⁸³ Ἐποφειλομένη πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχαριστία καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ἀπελάβομεν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν σὺν ἀποδεῖξει τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας δογμάτων καὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν τῆς κακίας δυσσεβημάτων (*ibid.*, p. 45, ll. 1-3).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49, ll. 54-59.

J'ai souligné le fait que la référence était, non le concile de Nicée II, qui reste à l'arrière-plan, mais un synode constantinopolitain. Le patriarcat de Constantinople, en 843, reprend sa place aux côtés des autres patriarchats orthodoxes. Mais la référence à l'œcuménicité est comme effacée et tout se passe comme si Constantinople définissait l'orthodoxie, de même que semble oublié le fait que l'Empire byzantin n'est pas universel, et qu'il existe des chrétiens, et d'autres patriarchats, en-dehors de lui. C'est dans cette limitation, dans le choix d'une référence proprement constantinopolitaine, relative à une pratique en fait spécifique qu'il faut chercher l'identité nouvelle de l'Orthodoxie: un mot qui, sans perdre son sens étymologique, évolue vers une acceptation nouvelle et le statut d'un nom propre, désignant la forme de christianisme particulière à l'Empire byzantin.

BERNARD FLUSIN

ORTHODOXY AND BYZANTINE CULTURAL IDENTITY

For the orthodox in any religion, orthodoxy, «right belief», is what gives and guarantees the integrity, the unity and the universal, eternal validity of their faith. If deviation should occur, through human perversity and the malign machinations of evil spirits, orthodoxy remains the mainstream, from which all wayward rivulets depart and to which they necessarily return if they do not simply run into the sand. Yet historically and almost by definition, orthodoxy is predicated on heresy and results from division. The profession of right belief presupposes the existence of a group of wrong believers from whom the orthodox must clearly disassociate himself, and it goes without saying that the right belief of one group is the wrong belief of the other. The orthodoxy that prevails within a given community of believers may or may not be the belief of the majority, but it always represents the consensus of the most powerful, or at least, the most vocal/persuasive, section of the ruling élite. To be maintained, the consensus has to be both exclusive and reactive; that is, it must exclude dissent, but it depends for its existence on the continued presence, within or beyond its territorial boundaries, of the dissenters or their proxies. Hence, the would-be universal belief becomes culturally specific, and orthodoxy becomes a form of cultural identity. Its degree of specificity depends on the range of cultural diversity that it embraces, and on the extent to which it determines other forms of culture.

There can be no doubt that Orthodoxy was an important form of cultural identity in Byzantium, and has remained so in all the countries that originated in the «Byzantine Commonwealth». But was Orthodoxy the essential and definitive element in Byzantine culture, and does it define the cultural identities of modern nations with national Orthodox churches? At first sight, it is hard to see how the answer can be anything but yes. Orthodoxy, a Christian invention, gained its basic theological definition in the eastern half of the Christian Roman Empire, from the fourth to the eighth century. The Orthodox churches are the sole living legacy of Byzantium in the modern world; their liturgical and spiritual

traditions were created in the Byzantine Empire and have not significantly changed since the fifteenth century. The Orthodox faith certainly meant more to the majority of Byzantines than the other components of their identity, their Roman imperial tradition and their Hellenic culture. The proof lies in the last centuries of Byzantium and in *Byzance après Byzance*: the patriarchate of Constantinople and the monasteries continued to flourish, while the state withered away and died, having become progressively detached from its Roman roots, and the learned, classically educated elite either subordinated their Hellenic learning to their ecclesiastical careers or cultivated their Hellenic identity as Renaissance humanists in Western Europe. The defining moments of Byzantine cultural identity were the rejection of the Union of the churches, first after the Council of Lyons in 1274 and second after the Council of Florence in 1453.

Yet the essentialism of Byzantine Orthodoxy can be and has been questioned¹. It can be argued that the identification of Byzantium and its successor states as essentially Orthodox is the construction, partly of western orientalism, and partly of xenophobic eastern neo-Orthodoxy, both of which, for their different reasons, seek to emphasise the «otherness» of Byzantium from the western Christian tradition. It is pointed out that «Byzantine Orthodoxy was not something fixed and easily identifiable»; it was not monolithic or totalitarian, neither uniform nor unifying, and its articulation was often rhetorical, improvised and partisan. The Byzantine Empire had widely fluctuating borders, embraced a variety of cultures and religious groups, and was constantly divided by differences between church and state in addition to factional conflict, both within the church, and within the composite lay and ecclesiastical ruling élite. If Orthodoxy in Byzantium was fluid and diverse, how much more so in the «Byzantine Commonwealth» of the later Middle Ages and post-Byzantine times, with its aggressively competing nationalisms².

The Orthodox church undoubtedly contributed to the national identities of Russia, Modern Greece, Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Georgia, but to what extent has it given them a common post-Byzantine culture? Equally, to what extent can it be regarded as decisive for

¹ Averil CAMERON, *Byzantium and the Limits of Orthodoxy*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 154 (2008), pp. 129–152.

² The classic statement of this concept is D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453*, London 1971; see also J. SHEPARD, *Byzantium's Overlapping Circles*, in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21–26 August 2006*, ed. E. JEFFREYS, I, Aldershot 2006, pp. 15–55: 17–28.

the specific culture of each nation? What the cultural pluralism of the Eastern Orthodox world surely shows, rather, is that Orthodoxy was infinitely transferable from one cultural context to another, because it did not transfer the specificity of the culture in which it originated. In Byzantium, it was essentially linked to the Byzantine state, the city of Constantinople, and an education in classical Greek language and literature. Beyond Byzantium, it thrived in association with faint approximations of the imperial court and the imperial city, and in other languages that initially had no literary basis apart from the religious texts that were translated for liturgical use³. The Byzantine urban élite did not assume that they shared a common culture with the northern barbarians who had received their religion from Constantinople⁴; in fact, one of the arguments presented by the Unionist party at the Council of Florence was that the Greeks had much more in common with the Latins «by similarity of customs and manners» (τρόπων καὶ ἡθῶν ὁμοιότητι) than with the Orthodox Slavs with whom they shared religious communion⁵. This reminds us that Christian culture had developed along broadly similar lines in Greek East and Latin West, structured on a common conception of the apostolic and sacramental authority of the clergy, the spiritual excellence of the monastic life, and a set of theological beliefs, over which there was far more tacit agreement than vocal disagreement even after the eleventh century. One may ask therefore whether the Christian culture that Byzantium exported to the Slavs was *essentially* different from that which was propagated and standardised throughout Western Europe under the Church of Rome. Indeed, in this comparison, the most immediately striking difference is that the churches of the western Roman provinces integrated their northern barbarians much more quickly and thoroughly than was the case in the East, so that it is easier to talk of a common Catholic culture in Western Europe than of a common Orthodox culture in Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and the eastern Mediterranean.

³ For the point that hellenism and classicism were lost in translation into Slavonic, see J. MEYENDORFF, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*, Crestwood, NY 1989, pp. 22–23.

⁴ See S.A. IVANOV, *Mission Impossible: Ups and Downs in Byzantine Missionary Activity from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century*, in *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe*, ed. J. SHEPARD, Aldershot 2007, pp. 251–265.

⁵ See GEORGE SCHOLARIOS, *Orationes Georgii Scholarii in Concilio Florentino habitae*, ed. J.G. GILL, Rome 1964 (Concilium Florentinum. Documenta et scriptores, 8/1), p. 62.

However, the differences that caused the schism of the churches were not merely doctrinal or institutional; it was not just a case of sibling rivalry within a family who shared the same values, spoke the same language, and felt at home together. It was often a *dialogue de sourds*, and it became increasingly a violent conflict between entrenched opponents who treated each other as aliens, outsiders, and, eventually, as heretics. Until the eleventh century, Byzantium and the West accepted each other as orthodox despite their political, ecclesiastical, and cultural separation. From the eleventh century, the notion of orthodoxy on each side fell increasingly in line with the reality of their other differences, which were accentuated by the expansion of Latin Europe into the eastern Mediterranean, and the intrusion of Latin traders, crusaders and colonists into Byzantine imperial space. What changed was not so much the doctrinal and institutional positions of the respective churches, as their perceptions of their cultural relationship. The Latins were no longer prepared to defer to Byzantine cultural superiority, while the Byzantines were no longer disposed to differentiate between the Latins and other barbarians, or rather to distinguish between barbarians and non-barbarians of western European origin. Byzantium could include the eastern Slavs and the Georgians within its definition of Orthodoxy because they looked up to Constantinople and all it stood for, but it ultimately excluded the Latins because, so far from respecting the ancient traditions of the imperial city, they not only took it and sacked it, but imported and imposed their own institutions and procedures.

Thus both the inclusion of the eastern Chalcedonian churches within the Orthodox fold and the exclusion of Latin Christendom reflect an association between Orthodoxy and Byzantine cultural identity. In the first case, the association was traditional, because it perpetuated the unequal relationship between the Christian Roman Empire and its satellite kingdoms and principalities; it was a continuation of the consensual relationship between Romans and barbarians. In the case of the Latins, however, the cultural dimension of the ecclesiastical schism was doubly innovative. Firstly, it marked a departure from the early Christian conception of orthodoxy, which had stressed unity of belief between churches of different linguistic traditions within the framework of a Christian Roman *oikoumene*. Secondly, it introduced a perception of inequality and incompatibility into the coexistence of the two major linguistic traditions of the Roman world.

We may conclude, then, that the connection between Orthodoxy

and Byzantine cultural identity was an essential one, and that this connection, though already inherent in the traditional Roman antithesis between civilization and barbarism, was essentially formed in the development of the medieval Byzantine state as a regional remnant of the Eastern Roman Empire of Justinian. *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium*, to quote the title of a recent book on the period 600–1000, is a useful and appropriate framework within which to study both the Byzantine Empire and Orthodox Christianity⁶. Moreover, the evident and changing wealth of connotations that the term «orthodoxy» acquired in the course of Byzantine history, the very fact that «Byzantine Orthodoxy was not something fixed and easily identifiable», to quote Averil Cameron once more, makes it more and not less valuable as a key to understanding the Byzantine mentality. It vindicates the wider definition of orthodoxy, as proposed by H.-G. Beck, and beyond the strict, doctrinal definition of the term⁷. It confirms the potential that still exists for exploring the notion of the «Guardians of Orthodoxy» that I, inspired by Beck by studies of «reform and renaissance» in the medieval West, used to characterise the cultural élite of Constantinople in the twelfth century, and to understand their particular combination of conformism and cultural sophistication⁸.

In this paper, I wish to address the question of Orthodoxy in the wider sense, with specific reference to the relationship between Orthodoxy and cultural identity. If we accept that the connection was essential to Byzantium, what exactly does this mean? That Byzantium appropriated a general, limited, culturally transferable concept of doctrinal orthodoxy for its specific cultural agenda without extending the basic definition? Or that Byzantium defined and developed orthodoxy beyond its minimal, transferable formulation into a specific cultural system? These questions may be approached under two headings:

1. The culture of orthodoxy: the importance that Byzantines attached to being, or appearing orthodox, in both the strict and the wide sense.
2. Orthodoxy of culture and orthodoxy as culture: the extent to which the formal prescriptions and mechanisms of Orthodoxy applied to the lives of Byzantines; also the degree to which they were specifically Byzantine.

⁶ M. WHITTOW, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium*, London 1996.

⁷ H.-G. BECK, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*, Munich 1978.

⁸ P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge 1993, chapter 5.

In both cases, I shall occasionally range quite widely over the medieval Byzantine period, but mainly I shall confine myself to the two and a half centuries from the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 to the preaching of the First Crusade in 1095. This period is particularly crucial because it begins with the definitive formulation of orthodox doctrine that was to remain normative for the Byzantine church, and it ends with the event that confirmed both the cultural alienation and the religious schism between East and West. This was therefore the period that consolidated the relationship between cultural identity and religious orthodoxy in Byzantium.

Before coming to my main themes, it is important to make two general points about Byzantine Orthodoxy in this period. Firstly, the Orthodoxy that was triumphantly proclaimed in 843 was already more specific to Byzantium than it was relevant to the universal church. Although it was based on the decrees of an ecumenical council, it was reiterated by a purely local synod, and its main item, the restoration of icons, meant much more in Byzantium than it did in the west outside Rome. Moreover, the prescription of icon veneration was different from previous definitions of Orthodoxy that had been decreed by earlier ecumenical councils. Whereas they had endorsed abstract theological formulae, the seventh ecumenical council, followed by the synod of 843, sanctioned a cultic and therefore a cultural practice that was to take, in Byzantium, a very specific artistic form.

The second preliminary point that needs making is that Byzantine texts, both before and after, but especially during, the iconoclast controversy, habitually use the classical word εὐσέβεια, meaning «piety», «reverence» or «righteousness», as an interchangeable synonym for ὁρθοδοξία. Yet *eusebeia* in itself means much more than adherence to correct theological dogma: it covers the acts of worship and devotion, that is «orthopraxy» as well as orthodoxy, and it refers to the Christian faith as opposed to other religions. In other words, the equivalence of the terms *eusebeia* and *orthodoxia* effectively extends the meaning of the latter to cover the whole culture of religion.

I. THE CULTURE OF ORTHODOXY

It takes little acquaintance with Byzantine texts to appreciate that the Byzantines were concerned, not to say obsessed, with identifying themselves as Orthodox and pointing out the presence or absence of Ortho-

doxy in others. To use an expression from another time and place, they repeated and observed the «party line». A sample of passages in which the word «orthodox» is used will prove the point. Photios, in his letter to the newly converted king of Bulgaria, Boris-Michael, begins by instructing him in the decrees of the seven ecumenical councils, «which are like trenches and fortifications for this divine and orthodox doctrine (...). For through them all innovation and heresy is driven away, and unadulterated orthodox thinking, transmitted by ancient tradition, is established in the souls of the righteous with unshakable reverence»⁹. Photios opens his encyclical to the eastern patriarchs by comparing Constantinople to a fountainhead of orthodoxy, which irrigates the whole *oikoumene* with streams of piety¹⁰. This insistence on orthodoxy is perhaps to be expected in the work of a patriarch who had to deal with the aftermath of iconoclasm. It is more remarkable when we find it expressed by laymen who were not writing in order to preach. Thus, in the mid tenth century, the author of the section of *Theophanes Continuatus* dealing with the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–945) wrote of this emperor, «Being most devout and most orthodox, he adorned and illumined all the churches of the City with splendid hangings and lighting»¹¹. About the same time, the editor of Constantine VII's historical «encyclopaedia», the *Excerpta historica*, addressed the emperor, apparently gratuitously, as «the most Orthodox and Christian emperor of all time»¹². A century later, Eustathios Boilas, a middle-ranking Cappadocian aristocrat, built up a small estate near the Euphrates, in the midst of a largely non-Greek and heterodox population, among which the Armenians were prominent. In his will, which he made in 1059, he emphasised his own orthodoxy, and enjoined it on his beneficiaries: if they lapsed from the Orthodox faith, his heirs were to lose their right to inherit, and his freed slaves were to revert to servitude¹³. Twenty-four years later, the Georgian nobleman Gregory Pakourianos founded a monastery near Philippopolis, which he settled with Georgians who had been in his service. He instructed that the monastery was not to admit any Greeks, because they were troublemakers, but he emphatically identified himself with Greek

⁹ PHOTIUS, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, I, Leipzig 1983, pp. 3–4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹¹ Ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838, p. 418.

¹² CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *Excerpta historica*, I/I: *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Berlin 1903, p. 1.

¹³ Ed. P. LEMERLE, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*, Paris 1977, pp. 21, 23, 28.

Orthodoxy: «the true and Orthodox Christian faith, according to the tradition of the Iberian race which agrees and assents in every dogmatic tradition with the most Orthodox and divine race of the Romans (*i.e.* Greeks) and with their Great Church of God»¹⁴. He enjoined his monks to pray on behalf of every Orthodox bishopric¹⁵. Another contemporary monastic founder, Michael Attaleiates, introduces himself as a worshipper of the Holy Trinity who, thanks to the Orthodox faith he had learned from his devout parents, had received many benefits, notable his literary education, «from this inexhaustible and ineffable divine source of learning»¹⁶: a significant association between Orthodoxy and literary culture. In the imperial charters that Attaleiates attached to his foundation document, the emperors entitle themselves «faithful and Orthodox»¹⁷. Attaleiates also makes pointed references to Orthodoxy in his history of the period 1042–1080. He mentions that the earthquake which shook Nicaea in 1065 completely destroyed, among other buildings, the church of the Holy Fathers, «in which the synod against Areios was confirmed by the most holy and orthodox fathers, and orthodoxy was proclaimed and shone brighter than the sun»¹⁸. This was a retribution for sin and the wrath of God, in addition to portending the invasion of the Balkans by the Uz. A few pages later, Attaleiates records that when the Turks started to invade and ravage the eastern frontier provinces, this was at first taken to be the wrath of God against the [local] Armenian, Nestorian and Akephalan (Monophysite) heretics, «for those territories are full of their cacodoxy; but when the terror [of the Turkish invasions] took hold of the Orthodox, the people who professed the religion of the Romans [Greeks] were at a loss [to explain it]»¹⁹. Both these observations, on the earthquake and the Turkish invasions, are interesting, because they show that Orthodoxy was widely believed to earn God's favour, and the Orthodox were genuinely upset when it clearly did not. The second passage also shows, like the texts of Boilas and Pakourianos we looked at earlier, that while the Orthodox were well aware of the ethnic differen-

¹⁴ *Typikon*, ed. P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 42 (1984), p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁶ P. GAUTIER, *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 39 (1981), p. 19.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 109.

¹⁸ MIGUEL ATALIATES, *Historia*, ed. I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, Madrid 2002, p. 68.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73; cf. commentary, p. 277.

ces that separated the communities in the eastern frontier areas, it was the difference between Orthodoxy and heresy that they regarded as decisive for their identity.

A culture of Orthodoxy, linking the profession of Orthodoxy with the bestowal of divine favour, is also evident in the way that writers of encomium and biography highlight the orthodoxy and piety of their subjects. Notable examples are the *Life of Basil I*, authorised if not authored by his grandson Constantine VII²⁰, and the *Alexiad*, the biography of Alexios I Komnenos, by his daughter Anna Komnene²¹. Though very different, both works portray their heroes as beneficiaries of God's providence, who earned his favour by their pious works, their care for the unity of the church, and their concern to bring non-believers to Christ. Anna Komnene performs the notable feat of depicting her father both as a Homeric hero and as a Christlike man of sorrows, but in her narrative the image that prevails is that of Alexios the thirteenth apostle, the worthy successor of Constantine the Great. She distorts the chronology of her narrative in order to present her father's foundation of the Orphanage and his prosecution of the Bogomil heresy in Constantinople as his final, crowning achievements²².

Just as Orthodoxy and *eusebeia* were used to demonstrate the goodness of one's own, so heterodoxy and *asebeia* were used to prove the iniquity of the «other». The culture of Orthodoxy nourished and was nourished by a culture of alarmism, denunciation and defamation, in which the opponent was naturally labelled as impious and the impious was seen as a threat to the community, because the doctrinally deviant was automatically assumed to be morally bad or politically subversive²³.

²⁰ *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. BEKKER cit., pp. 211–353, esp. 261–262, 314–316, 341–344.

²¹ ANNA KOMNENE, *Alexiad*, esp. III.5; V.2, 8–9; VI.3, 7; X.1; XIV.8; XV.7–10; *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, I, ed. D.R. REINSCH – A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin–New York 2001 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 40/1), pp. 97–100, 143–146, 161–167, 171–173, 181–183, 281–283, 454–458, 482–493.

²² P. MAGDALINO, *The Pen of the Aunt: Echoes of the Mid-Twelfth Century in the Alexiad*, in *Anna Komnene and her Times*, ed. Th. GOUMA-PETERSON, New York 2000, pp. 15–43.

²³ For the defamation of Photios, see PSEUDO-SYMEON, in *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. BEKKER cit., pp. 668–674. For the accusations of impiety made by Arethas against Leo Choirosphaktes and against Arethas himself, see *Arethae scripta minora*, I, ed. L. WESTERINK, Leipzig 1968–1972, pp. 200–212. For the defamation of the patriarch Michael Keroularios and the charges of impiety brought against him to secure his deposition, see the prosecution speech by MICHAEL PSELLOS, *Orationes forenses et*

Controversial religious policies were attacked and defended by reference to iconoclasm²⁴, and beliefs and practices of which the authorities disapproved were condemned by giving them a heretical genealogy that was wholly or largely spurious²⁵.

Byzantine Christian worship was not only substantially Orthodox in the content of its hymns and prayers, but it was pointedly and aggressively so. The hymns of the Orthodox church are poetic and dramatic lessons in correct Christology, and many of them contain virulent personal abuse against the heresiarchs of the past²⁶. These «hymns of hate» reinforced the anathemas contained in the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*²⁷. Orthodox doctrine was thus preserved not just as a set of intellectual formulae from long-forgotten controversies, but as a living, emotive issue that confronted the believer every time he worshipped in church.

Finally, the culture of Orthodoxy may be seen in the veneer of piety that is more or less transparently applied to secular works of literature whose purpose is anything but pious. Obvious examples are the Grottaferrata version of *Digenes Akrites*²⁸ and the *Timarion*²⁹, which advertise their Christian credentials in localised set pieces. More difficult to penetrate are works like Choirosphaktes' *Chiliostichos Theologia*, which purports to be a piece of pure Orthodox pedagogy³⁰, and Psellos' *Chrono-*

acta, ed. G. DENNIS, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1994, no. 1, esp. pp. 4-48. For the case of John Italos, see ANNA KOMNEE, *Alexiad*, v. 8-9 ed. cit., pp. 161-167; M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 50-54. For twelfth-century examples, see MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel* cit., pp. 277-278, 390-391; id., *The Bagoas of Nikephoros Basilakes: A Normal Reaction?*, in *Of Strangers and Foreigners (Late Antiquity-Middle Ages)*, ed. L. MAYALI - M.M. MART, Berkeley 1993, pp. 47-63. For the culture of defamation, see also the contribution of Pavel Ermilov to this volume.

²⁴ MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel* cit., pp. 316-317.

²⁵ See A. Rigo in this volume.

²⁶ See ARCHIMANDRITE ÉPHREM (LASH), *Byzantine Hymns of Hate*, in *Byzantine Orthodoxies*, ed. A. LOUTH - A. CASIDAY, Aldershot 2006, pp. 151-164.

²⁷ Ed. J. GOUILARD, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire*, in *Tra-vaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), pp. 1-298; see B. Flusin in this volume.

²⁸ Ed. and tr. E. JEFFREYS, *Digenis Akritis. The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions*, Cambridge 1998, pp. 2-235; cf. P. MAGDALINO, *Digenes Akrites and Byzantine Literature: the Twelfth-Century Background to the Grottaferrata Version*, in *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, Aldershot 1993, pp. 7-8.

²⁹ Ed. R. ROMANO, *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione*, Naples 1974; cf. A. KALDELLIS, *Hellenism in Byzantium*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 276-283.

³⁰ LEON MAGISTROS CHOIROSPHAKTES, *Chiliostichos Theologia*, ed. I. VASSIS, Berlin-New York 2002; cf. P. MAGDALINO, *L'Orthodoxie des astrologues*, Paris 2006, pp. 72-76.

*graphia*³¹, where the professions of piety are much more tightly woven into the text, and therefore more difficult to unpick. But there is now enough evidence to show that Byzantine writers shared a code of dissimulation and discretion that makes much of their work seem implausibly bland and conformist, because it disguises or defuses for the superficial reader the far from orthodox message behind their texts. This code of dissimulation, I would contend, was part of the general culture of Orthodoxy.

2. ORTHODOXY OF CULTURE, ORTHODOXY AS CULTURE

After 1204, the former bureaucrat Niketas Choniates, in exile from Latin-occupied Constantinople, updated his history of the empire after 1118 and at the same time, he compiled a massive, commented florilegium of sacred proof texts to be used in debating doctrine and refuting heresies³². This compendium, the *Panoplia dogmatike* or *Sacred Armoury*, echoed, in its title and its conception, a similar work compiled over 100 years earlier by the monk Euthymios Zygadenos, at the command of the emperor Alexios I and with particular relevance to the Bogomil heresy³³. It also, consciously or unconsciously, echoed the work commissioned more recently by the emperor Manuel I and put together by the senior government official Andronikos Doukas Kamateros, the *Τερά δόπλοθήκη* or *Sacred Arsenal*³⁴. The three theological stockpiles, culminating in Choniates' work, together with the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, which was updated several times in the Comnenian period, mark the entrenchment of Byzantine Orthodoxy that characterised the «enlight-

³¹ MICHEL PSELLOS, *Chronographie*, ed. E. RENAUD, Paris 1967²; cf. A. KALDELLIS, *The Argument of Psellos' Chronographia*, Leiden 1999.

³² See L. BOSSINA, *Qualche nota su Niceta Coniata, storico del dogma*, in *Byzantine Theologians. The systematization of their own doctrine and their perception of foreign doctrines*, ed. A. RIGO - P. ERMILOV, Rome 2009 (*Quaderni di Néa Τόμη*, 3), pp. 71-90; id., *Niketas Choniates as a Theologian*, in *Niketas Choniates. A Historian and a Writer*, ed. A. SIMPSON - St. EFTHYMIADIS, Geneva 2009, pp. 165-184; P. ERMILOV, *Current problems in studying Niketas Choniates' Panoplia Dogmatica: the case of chapter 24*, in *Byzantine Theologians* cit., pp. 91-102.

³³ A. RIGO, *La Panoplie dogmatique d'Euthyme Zigabène: les Pères de l'Église, l'empereur et les hérésies du présent*, in *Byzantine Theologians* cit., pp. 19-32.

³⁴ A. BUCOSSI, *The Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros. A Forgotten Treasure*, *ibid.*, pp. 33-50; EAD., *New historical evidence for the dating of the Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 67 (2009), pp. 111-130.

nement and repression» of the twelfth century³⁵. They were the ultimate expressions of the culture of Orthodoxy, of the formation of an Orthodox mentality. At the same time, they were also the ultimate expression of the development of the Orthodoxy of culture, and of Orthodoxy as culture, that had started well before the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843. It was the Triumph of Orthodoxy, however, that gave impetus and direction to the creation of an Orthodox culture, and thus to the cultural identity with which Byzantium confronted the Latin West from the eleventh century onwards.

A Christian culture specific to Byzantium, and most particularly to Constantinople, had been in the making since at least the seventh century. Its formation can be seen in episodes of the Monothelete controversy³⁶, in the disciplinary canons of the council in Trullo (Quinisext) which began to differentiate the church of Constantinople from Rome³⁷, and in the identification of the Byzantine church and Empire as a Chosen People, a New Israel³⁸. Last but not least, the development of a Byzantine Christian culture and mentality can be seen in eighth-century iconoclasm itself, without which the later imposition of icons as Orthodoxy would be inconceivable. In fact, the Triumph of Orthodoxy reversed the content but not the mentality of iconoclasm, and otherwise promoted all the exclusivist trends that had gone before it. It led to a systematic attempt to create an Orthodox Christian culture for a new Chosen People³⁹.

Most obviously, icons became ubiquitous, from monumental mosaics to representations on coins and seals, and they were increasingly accompanied by text: at the very least, a naming inscription, but frequently an epigram in twelve-syllable verse⁴⁰. Cult icons and processional icons prolifer-

³⁵ MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel* cit., pp. 382–385.

³⁶ See particularly the question asked of Maximos the Confessor at his trial in Constantinople, «Why do you love the Romans and hate the Greeks?»: *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia*, ed. P. ALLEN – B. NEIL, Turnhout-Leuven 1999 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 39), p. 47.

³⁷ Text of the canons in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. G. NEDUNGATT – M. FEATHERSTONE, Rome 1995, pp. 45–185. On the council, see A. LOUTH, in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, I, Cambridge 2008, pp. 312–315.

³⁸ See *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. P. MAGDALINO – R. NELSON, Washington, D.C. 2010, introduction. The idea of the empire as the New Israel is most clearly illustrated in the prayer pronounced by the patriarch at the emperor's coronation, as contained in the eighth-century *Barberini Euchologion: L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, ed. S. PARENTI – E. VELKOVSKA, Roma 2000², p. 178.

³⁹ WHITTOW, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium* cit., pp. 139–164.

⁴⁰ On the tendency to legitimise and «clothe» icons after iconoclasm by the

rated, most famously those of the Theotokos⁴¹. Iconography became increasingly standardised, as did the architectural framework within which it was displayed, with the domed cross in square model of church architecture being widely replicated as the most effective vehicle for displaying a three-dimensional heavenly hierarchy of icons to envelop the worshipper⁴².

The Triumph of Orthodoxy generated a large amount of propaganda, both literary and artistic, that mythologised the origins of icons, canonised their defenders, and demonised their persecutors⁴³. The defence of icons also came to be associated, in Orthodox ideology, with monasticism and with the surge of monastic foundations or revivals, first in the mountains of Bithynia, then in and around Constantinople, that began towards the end of first iconoclasm and continued unabated almost until 1204⁴⁴. This association of monks with icons and Orthodoxy was vigorously affirmed by the chronicler George the Monk, who went further than any previous historian in writing an Orthodox history of the world, short on historical facts, but rich in religious rhetoric and citations from the Church Fathers⁴⁵.

Apart from these aspects of cultural production that stemmed directly from the ideology of Orthodoxy, there was much more that

addition of text, see H. MAGUIRE, *The Icons of their Bodies*, Princeton 1996, chapter 3; K. BOSTON, *The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts*, in *Icon and Word. The Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. A. EASTMOND – E. JAMES, Aldershot 2003, pp. 35–51. For the ubiquity of accompanying epigrams, see M.D. LAUXERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*, I, Wien 2003 (Wiener byzantinistische Studien, 24/1), pp. 131–212, 338–56; *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme*, ed. W. HÖRANDNER – A. RHODY, Wien 2006.

⁴¹ The development of her icons has been extensively studied in recent years: see *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. VASSILAKI, Athens 2000, for many relevant articles, and B.V. PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium*, University Park, PA, 2006.

⁴² T.F. MATHEWS, *Religious Organization and Church Architecture*, in *The Glory of Byzantium*, ed. H.C. EVANS – W.D. WIXOM, New York 1997, pp. 21–34.

⁴³ For a sample see, e.g., *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, ed. and tr. M.B. CUNNINGHAM, Belfast 1991; the hagiographical texts translated in *Byzantine Defenders of Images*, ed. A.-M. TALBOT, Washington, D.C. 1998; *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts*, ed. J.A. MUNITIZ (et al.), Camberley 1997. For visual propaganda, see K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, Cambridge 1992.

⁴⁴ See in general, P. MAGDALINO, *Medieval Constantinople*, in id., *Studies in the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*, Aldershot 2007, no. I, pp. 67–75. For the first phase of this movement, see now P. HATLIE, *The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople ca. 350–850*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 312–440.

⁴⁵ *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1904; revised edition by P. WIRTH, Stuttgart 1978.

grew out of a general climate of piety, which was intensified both by the heroic vindication of icons and monks and by a heightened desire for intercession and salvation with the approach of the millennium⁴⁶. Thus the century and a half following the Triumph of Orthodoxy saw substantial commissioning of precious devotional objects in manuscript, gold, enamel and ivory⁴⁷, and a large outpouring of edifying and devotional literature – hagiography, homilies, hymns, florilegia, apocalyptic visions. Where the literature is concerned, two things are important to emphasise in the context of Orthodoxy. First, the genres in question had flourished during the seventh and eighth centuries, when Orthodox doctrine was being defined. Secondly, a significant selection of ninth and tenth-century texts were concerned with inculcating proper belief and devotional practice. In addition to the florilegia, which by nature had a didactic function, notable are the two major Lives of fictitious saints, Andrew the Fool and Basil the Younger, which contain long passages of instruction on heaven and hell, the end of the world and the Last Judgment⁴⁸. In the same context, we may mention the free-standing visions of other-world experience composed around the same time: the Vision of Kosmas the Monk⁴⁹, the Apocalypse of the Theotokos, and the Apocalypse of Anastasia⁵⁰. All these texts were, in a sense, manuals of apocryphal Orthodoxy, which taught the faithful what to think about questions of salvation, intercession, the future of the world, punishment and reward in the afterlife.

If all this pious, devotional production represents, as I suggest, the creation of an Orthodox culture intended to extend and consolidate the Triumph of Orthodoxy, two questions arise. Firstly, did it happen spontaneously, or was it the result of a planned, coordinated effort? Secondly, to what extent was the form that it took specific to Byzantium, rather than generically and transferably Christian, and equivalent to what was happening in the Carolingian and Ottonian West?

⁴⁶ P. MAGDALINO, *The Year 1000 in Byzantium*, in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. P. MAGDALINO, Leiden 2003, pp. 233–270.

⁴⁷ A good selection of the extant artefacts is presented in *The Glory of Byzantium* cit.

⁴⁸ BHG 263, 264, 1152; critical edition and translation of *The Life of St Andrew the Fool* by L. RYDÉN, Uppsala 1995 (*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 4).

⁴⁹ Ed. Ch. ANGELIDI, *La version longue de la vision du moine Cosmas*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 101 (1983), pp. 73–99.

⁵⁰ These texts are best approached through the extensive study by J. BAUN, *Tales from Another Byzantium. Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha*, Cambridge 2007.

These are big questions, and this is not the place to answer them with the balance and detail of argument that they require. I can only summarise the points that have to be elaborated. But it seems to me that these points add up to positive answers to both questions – the creation of an Orthodox culture was a programmed, coordinated affair, and what it created had very specific features which were unique to Byzantium.

On the first issue, the points that argue for a high degree of programming are as follows:

- Much of the cultural production of this period can be traced to the patronage, influence, example and direct involvement of four highly-placed individuals: the patriarch Photios⁵¹, the emperors Leo VI⁵² and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos⁵³, and the *parakoinomenos* Basil, the illegitimate eunuch son of the emperor Romanos I who was the chief minister and power behind the throne of four emperors between c. 950 and 985⁵⁴.
- The insistence on law (*nomos*), order and good order (*taxis, eu-taxia*) in the official literature of the period⁵⁵.
- The reference to the Late Roman/Early Byzantine past as a source of authentic precedents and traditions: we should recall that the ancient tradition of the Church was one of the main arguments of the iconophiles⁵⁶.

On the second issue, the specificity of Byzantine Orthodox culture is nowhere more obvious than in the icon, and in what might be termed

⁵¹ There is no up-to-date study of his life and works; for a good short survey, see J.M. HUSSEY, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford 1986, pp. 72–101.

⁵² S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People*, Leiden 1997. For the religious profile and activity of Leo VI and Constantine VII, see B. FLUSIN, *L'empereur hagiographe. Remarques sur le rôle des premiers empereurs macédoniens dans le culte des saints*, in *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. P. GURAN, Bucharest 2001, pp. 29–54.

⁵³ A good short statement of Constantine's role as a pious and cultured sovereign is provided by J. SHEPARD, in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. J. SHEPARD, Cambridge 2008, pp. 511–513.

⁵⁴ W.G. BROOKAAR, *Basil Lacapenos: Byzantium in the Tenth Century*, in *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica*, ed. by W.F. BAKKER – A.F. VAN GEMERT – W.J. AERTS, Leiden 1972 (Byzantina Neerlandica, 3), pp. 199–234.

⁵⁵ P. MAGDALINO, *The Non-Juridical Legislation of the Emperor Leo VI*, in *Analecta Atheniensia ad ius byzantinum spectantia*, I, ed. Sp. TROIANOS, Athens 1998 (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe), pp. 169–182.

⁵⁶ P. MAGDALINO, *The Distance of the Past in Early Medieval Byzantium (7th–10th centuries)*, in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1999 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 46), pp. 115–146.

the iconic and liturgical mentality of Byzantine ideology⁵⁷. But Byzantium was also distinctive for the laicity of its religious life:

- The common education shared by senior churchmen and government officials⁵⁸.
- The active role of laymen, especially eunuchs, in religious patronage⁵⁹.
- The high cultural and political profile of pious laymen who occupied high administrative, including military positions, but were noted for their piety and remained celibate: notable examples are Symeon the Logothete and Metaphrast⁶⁰, Nikephoros Ouranos⁶¹, John Geometres⁶², and the emperors Nikephoros II Phokas⁶³ and Basil II⁶⁴.
- The sacralisation of warfare against the empire's non-Christian enemies⁶⁵, evident in the composition of certain hymns and homilies⁶⁶,

⁵⁷ Useful approaches to this mentality are offered by T. KOLBABA, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins*, Urbana-Chicago 2000, chapter 5; and BAUN, *Tales from Another Byzantium* cit., pp. 144–162.

⁵⁸ Thus the «graduates» of the palace school established by Constantine VII included civil judges, public clerks, and metropolitan bishops: *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. BEKKER cit., p. 446.

⁵⁹ For some examples, see S. TOUGHER, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, London-New York 2008, pp. 111–115.

⁶⁰ See C. HØGEL, *Simeon Metaphrastes Rewriting and Canonization*, Copenhagen 2002; Symeon's ascetic lifestyle is praised by his friend NIKEPHOROS OURANOS: ed. S.G. MERCATI, *Collectanea Byzantina*, I, Bari 1970, pp. 569–570.

⁶¹ E. MCGEER, *Tradition and Reality in the Taktika of Nikephoros Ouranos*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), pp. 129–140; C. HOLMES, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire*, Oxford 2005, pp. 349–352, 383–388. See also D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Religious Instruction for Laypeople in Byzantium: Stephen of Nicomedia, Nicephoros Ouranos, and the Pseudo-Athanasiyan Syntagma ad quemdam politicum*, in *Byzantium* 77 (2007), pp. 239–250.

⁶² See the introduction to JEAN GÉOMÈTRE, *Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques*, ed. E. VAN OPSTALL, Leiden 2008, chapter 1, although this perpetuates the mistaken assumption that Geometres became a monk. For an alternative interpretation of his ascetic status, see P. MAGDALINO, *John Geometres, the Kyriatī, and the Church of ta Kyrou*, forthcoming in *Reading Byzantium*, ed. N. GAUL – T. SHAWCROSS – I. TOTH.

⁶³ R. MORRIS, *The Two Faces of Nikephoros Phokas*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1989), pp. 83–112; for his asceticism, see LEO THE DEACON, ed. C.B. HASE, Bonn 1828, p. 49.

⁶⁴ For Basil's piety and celibacy, see MAGDALINO, *The Year 1000* cit., pp. 263–264.

⁶⁵ A. KOLIA-DERMITZAKI, Ὁ βυζαντινός «ἰερός πόλεμος», Athens 1991, pp. 219–310.

⁶⁶ Hymns: A. PERTUSI, *Una acolouthia militare inedita del X secolo*, in *Aevum* 22–23 (1948–1949), pp. 145–168; Th. DETORAKIS – J. MOSSAY, *Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre, dans le Cod. Sin. gr. 734–735*, in *Le Muséon* 101 (1988), pp. 185–211. Homilies of Constantine VII: R. VÁRI, *Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17 (1908), pp. 75–85; H.

in the popularity of militant Old Testament figures, such as Joshua⁶⁷, and in the pious formulae that dot the military handbooks which are a unique feature of the period⁶⁸. To this we may add the observation that all the known writers of military handbooks were also noted for their religiosity: this was the case with Leo VI, Nikephoros II Phokas, Basil the *parakoimomenos*, and Nikephoros Ouranos.

– The prominence of laymen in the intended audience of edifying literature, and notably, as Jane Baun has recently argued, of the two popular «moral apocalypses», which enjoyed a wide circulation after their composition in the ninth-tenth centuries. Baun suggests, interestingly and plausibly, that these texts originated not in a monastery, but in one of the confraternities that operated outside the monastic environment⁶⁹.

– The central role of Constantinople as the fountainhead of Byzantine Orthodoxy⁷⁰, due to its administrative importance, its huge concentration of churches, monasteries and relics, and its overwhelming dominance as the centre of cultural production and consumption.

* * *

In conclusion, I would like to sketch the cultural profiles of the first and last of the four men whom I identified earlier as the leading promoters of Orthodox culture in the ninth and tenth centuries. Photios, from a leading pro-icon family, was a layman and a government official before being raised to the patriarchate⁷¹. In his two periods of office, he oversaw the final liquidation of iconoclasm, which he denounced as a

AHRWEILER, *Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), pp. 393–404; translation and commentary by E. MCGEER, *Two Military Orations of Constantine VII*, in *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations*, ed. J.W. NESBITT, Leiden 2003, pp. 111–135.

⁶⁷ MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Old Testament in Byzantium* cit.

⁶⁸ See particularly the *Praecepta militaria* of Nikephoros II and the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, ed. E. MCGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, Washington, D.C. 1995.

⁶⁹ BAUN, *Tales from Another Byzantium* cit., pp. 371–385.

⁷⁰ An image coined by PHOTIOS, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. LAOURDAS – L. WESTERINK, I, Leipzig 1983, p. 41. Constantinople's role as the capital of Orthodoxy is a major theme in the long speech in praise of the city by Theodore Metochites in the 14th century (unpublished; summary by E. FENSTER, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, Munich 1968, pp. 196–204).

⁷¹ C. MANGO, *The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios*, in *Iconoclasm*, ed. A. BRYER – J. HERRIN, Birmingham 1977, pp. 133–140; W. TREADGOLD, *Photius before his Patriarchate*, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002), pp. 1–17.

Jewish heresy, and the decoration, or redecoration, of churches in Constantinople with iconic mosaics. He organised the refutation of the dualist Paulicians⁷², negotiated reconciliation with the Armenian church⁷³, and directed the conversion of Bulgaria in competition with Roman and Frankish missionaries⁷⁴. It was in this context that he formulated the first Byzantine criticism of the «errors of the Latins», and referred to Constantinople as the «fountainhead of Orthodoxy». He was probably also responsible for the emperor Michael III referring, in a letter to Pope Nicholas I, to Latin as a barbaric language⁷⁵. Deposed and exiled from Constantinople after Michael III's overthrow, he made a comeback with Basil I by concocting, in the form of a bogus prophecy, a prestigious royal ancestry for Basil's Armenian father⁷⁶. As Basil's unofficial adviser, and then again as patriarch, Photios was probably responsible for Basil's law code, the *Eisagoge*, which gives an enhanced role to the church⁷⁷. He also probably advised Basil on the execution of two major cultural artefacts, the magnificent Nea Ekklesia, dedicated by Photios in 880⁷⁸, and the illustrated homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzos⁷⁹. He was tutor to Basil's sons, including the future Leo VI the Wise, whom he advised on the duties of a ruler, and who deposed him on becoming emperor⁸⁰. He wrote 14 homilies and hundreds of letters offering advice on a variety of subjects, mainly theological; he also, famously, produced a collection of over 200 book reviews, mainly of religious texts, which he judged on

⁷² Ch. ASTRUC - W. CONUS-WOLSKA - J. GOUILARD - P. LEMERLE - D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU - J. PARAMELLE, *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure: texte critique et traduction*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970), pp. 1-227.

⁷³ T. GREENWOOD, *Failure of a Mission? Photius and the Armenian Church*, in *Le Muséon* 119 (2006), pp. 123-167.

⁷⁴ F. DVORNIK, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle*, Prague 1933, 1969².

⁷⁵ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae* 6, p. 459; cf. M. Th. FÖGEN, *Reanimation of Roman law in the ninth century: remarks on reasons and results*, in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, Aldershot 1998, pp. 17-22.

⁷⁶ NIKETAS THE PAPHLAGONIAN, *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, cols. 565-8; PSEUDO-SYMEON, in *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. BEKKER cit., pp. 689-690; cf. W. TREADGOLD, *The Prophecies of the Patriarch Methodius*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 62 (2004), pp. 235-236.

⁷⁷ See J. SIGNES CODOÑER - FJ. ANDRÉS SANTOS, *La Introducción al derecho (Eisagoge) del patriarca Focio*, Madrid 2007 (Nueva Roma, 28).

⁷⁸ P. MAGDALINO, *Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 37 (1987), pp. 51-64.

⁷⁹ L. BRUBAKER, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Cambridge 1999.

⁸⁰ TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI*, cit., chapter 3.

their content but mainly on their style⁸¹. He was a teacher by inclination, as he vividly evokes in a letter to Pope Nicholas I. To answer the accusation, that his election to the patriarchate was uncanonical and the result of inordinate ambition, he writes that he would like nothing better than to return to his former existence, when he had returned from his day job in the palace to the enthusiastic welcome of his students. He describes these as follows: «some refined their intellects in mathematical pursuits, others traced the truth by logical method, while others again directed their minds through the divine scriptures to piety, which is the fruit of all other studies»⁸².

Basil the chamberlain (*parakoimomenos*) was the illegitimate son of the emperor Romanos I and a Scythian (Russian?) slave girl⁸³. Brought up as a eunuch in the imperial household under Constantine VII, then temporarily ousted under Romanos II (959–962), he helped to organise the succession of Nikephoros Phokas in 963. Under Nikephoros II and John I, he was effectively their grand vizier, and then became the regent for the young Basil II, with almost full imperial status⁸⁴, until Basil dismissed him in 985. As a cultural patron, he is credited with having brought to completion various projects of Constantine VII, notably the magnificent Limburg Stavrothek⁸⁵, almost certainly the *De ceremoniis*⁸⁶, and quite probably *Theophanes Continuatus*⁸⁷. He compiled a treatise on naval warfare, the *Naumachica*, and was himself an experienced military commander⁸⁸. He built a lavish monastery dedicated to St Basil, for which he commissioned manuscripts and reliquaries, some of which still survive⁸⁹.

⁸¹ On Photios' literary output, see A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, Athens 2006, pp. 7–41.

⁸² PHOTIOS, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, III, p. 126.

⁸³ See in general the full study by BROKKAAR, *Basil Lacapenos* cit.

⁸⁴ See M. LAUXTERMANN, *John Geometres, Poet and Soldier*, in *Byzantion* 68 (1998), pp. 356–380.

⁸⁵ N. ŠEVČENKO, *The Limburg Stavrothek and its Relics*, in *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λαογαρίνας Μπούρα*, I, Athens 1994, pp. 289–294.

⁸⁶ J.M. FEATHERSTONE – O. KRESTEN – J. GRUSKOVA, *Studien zu den Palimpsestenfragmenten des sogenannten «Zeremonienbuchs». I. Prolegomena*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 98 (2005), pp. 423–430.

⁸⁷ J.M. FEATHERSTONE, *Theophanes Continuatus: A History for the Palace*, forthcoming in *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine*, ed. P. ODORICO (Dossiers byzantins, 10); also id. *Theophanes Continuatus VI and De Ceremoniis I*, 96, forthcoming in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.

⁸⁸ J.H. PRYOR – E.M. JEFFREYS, *The Age of the Δρόμων. The Byzantine Navy ca. 500–1204*, Leiden 2006, pp. 183–187.

⁸⁹ L. BOURAS, *Ο Βασιλεὺς λεκαπηνὸς παραγγελιοδότης ἔργων τέχνης*, in *Kouros* 2006, 1, pp. 11–22.

But his cultural influence probably extended much more widely, since various important cultural figures of the late tenth century flourished during his ascendancy. They included Symeon Metaphrastes, the «rewriter» of the corpus of the most widely read saints' lives, the metropolitan Stephen of Nicomedia, the ambassador, author, and military officer Nikephoros Ouranos, and the poet John Geometres⁹⁰. There are also tantalising hints that the two great didactic hagiographies of the late tenth century, the Lives of Andrew the Fool and Basil the Younger, were produced under his aegis⁹¹.

Basil the Parakoimomenos was the most prominent exponent of a Byzantine lay piety that inhabited the space framed by four cultural traditions: monastic spirituality, service at the imperial court, Greek *paideia*, and life in Constantinople. It was not identical with any of them, but it is difficult to imagine without their combination. It was the essence of Byzantine cultural identity, and it would be hard to describe as anything but Orthodox.

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⁹⁰ Τίτος Ζ' Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του, ed. A. MARKOPOULOS, Athens 1989, pp. 397–434. For the monastery of St Basil, see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique*, 3: *Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969, pp. 58–59; for its location, A. BERGER, *Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1995), pp. 156–157 n. 48.

⁹¹ MAGDALINO, *John Geometres* cit.

⁹¹ P. MAGDALINO, «What we heard in the Lives of the saints, we have seen with our own eyes»: the holy man as literary text in tenth-century Constantinople, in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON – P.A. HAYWARD, Oxford 1999, pp. 109–111.

AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF TRADITION.
ALEXIOS STUDITES AND THE SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY

Alexios Studites is probably one of the most significant patriarchs of eleventh century Constantinople. He is an important writer as well as a coherent thinker who had been abbot of the Studios monastery. An important legacy he left is a version of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* which includes an anathema against those who are contrary to tradition. A study of the cultural background of this anathema reveals the general policy of the Patriarch in the second quarter of the eleventh century¹.

The *Synodikon* is quite complex and has differing versions². It is a text which commemorates the Triumph of the cult of Images and therefore begins in the year 843, but was subsequently modified with the condemnation of new heresies. The principal and most recent editor, Jean Gouillard, divides the Greek text into three main sections called M, C and P. *Synodikon M* deals with the text as it existed under the Macedonian dynasty³, C with the modifications in the late 11th and 12th centuries⁴ while P adds the decisions of the Palamite synods of the 14th century⁵. Moreover there are ancient Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian⁶ and Georgian⁷ translations of the text which were done from the text of the

¹ The works are to be found in PG 119, coll. 744-849; G. FICKER, *Erlasse des Patriarchen v. Konstantinopel: Alexios Studites*, Kiel 1911; A. PENTKOVSKIJ, *Drevnerusskaja versija Tipikona patriarcha Aleksija Studita*, Rome 1996.

² J. GOUILARD, *Le synodikon de l'Orthodoxie*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), pp. 1-289 [from now GOUILARD, *Synodikon*].

³ GOUILARD, *Synodikon M*, ll. 1-183.

⁴ GOUILARD, *Synodikon C*, ll. 1-571.

⁵ GOUILARD, *Synodikon P*, ll. 1-765.

⁶ Edition: V.A. MOŠIN, *Serbskaja redakcija Sinodika*, in *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 17 (1960), pp. 278-353; commentary V.A. MOŠIN, *Serbskaja redakcija Sinodika*, in *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 16 (1959), pp. 317-394. The edition refers mainly to the Serbian edition but in the apparatus also contains the Bulgarian and Russian versions.

⁷ E. GIUNAŠVILI, *Mc'ire sdžuliskanoni*, Tbilisi, 1972; M. VAN ESBROECK, *Das Synodikon vom Jahre 843 in georgischer Übersetzung*, in *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 19/2 (1987), pp. 300-313.

Synodikon M. Thus the *Synodikon M* represents the oldest and most stable version of the text.

Gouillard studied 15 manuscripts of the *Synodikon M*⁸. Six of these have a rather stable text which seems to have been formed after the death of the Patriarch Eustathius in 1025 and therefore under the patriarchate of Alexios Studites. The six manuscripts in question all contain the text of the anathema against tradition⁹. The aim of this paper is to show that the content of the anathema fits with the writings and aims of Alexios Studites.

The six manuscripts of the *Synodikon M* of Alexios are the following¹⁰:

- Ma = Vat. gr. 511 (XI c.), ff. 71-75.
- Mf = Matrit. gr. 4592 (XVI c.), ff. 154-157v.
- Mg = Laurent. Pl. XI. 8 (XII c.), ff. 197v-201.
- Mh = Scor. Ψ II.20 (455) (XIII c.), ff. 116-119.
- Ml = Vat. Barberin. gr. 578 (XI-XII c.) ff. 240-244.
- Mm = Bodl. Holkham. gr. 6 (XI c.), ff. 132-160, 170.

These six manuscripts are characterized not only by the inclusion of imperial names which allow one to date them precisely to the time of Alexios Studites but also by a common addition:

ἄπαντα τὰ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ ὑποτύπωσιν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἀσιδήμων πατέρων καινοτομηθέντα καὶ πραχθέντα ἥ μετὰ τοῦτο πραχθησόμενα, ἀνάθεμα.

Everything which is innovated and done or will be done against the church tradition, teaching and example of the holy and praised Fathers, let it be anathema.

It is the first generic addition to the *Synodikon*, and does not condemn specific persons or ideas, but all those who are against the church tradition. The anathema had been formulated by Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos in the tenth century and inserted in the decree of the synod of 920 on the fourth marriage of Leo the Wise¹¹. Thus the anathema was

⁸ GOUILARD, *Synodikon*, pp. 14-21.

⁹ GOUILARD, *Synodikon*, ll. 117-119.

¹⁰ The text of the anathema is omitted in the following manuscripts Mbcde. Jean Gouillard proposes they are from southern Italy and therefore do not represent a Constantinopolitan version.

¹¹ L.G. WESTERINK, *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Miscellaneous Writings*, Washington 1981 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 20), p. 200E5-8.

already valid in the church and, therefore, its inclusion in the *Synodikon* illustrates a policy of the patriarchate. Indeed the text was added after the first anathema of the *Synodikon* which condemns those who do not accept the teachings of specific patriarchs.

The patriarch Alexios was appointed by Basil II just before the latter died in 1025 and managed to maintain a stern approach to monastic affairs until his death in 1043. He convoked a number of councils condemning the Syro-Jacobites¹², recently incorporated into the Byzantine Empire¹³ and praised the metropolitan John of Melitene for restricting all forms of mixed marriages between the orthodox and local Syrians (1030, 1032 and 1039). He wrote the *typikon* of a monastery which served as the model for subsequent monastic foundations in the Slavic world¹⁴. Not all favoured such a zealous patriarch and he is also remembered by some historians as being greedy and money minded¹⁵. His interest in subordinating moral and juridical affairs to the church is the reason why one may attribute the last modification of the *Synodikon* directly to him.

However the crux of the matter is his policy towards culture. Alexios Studites is the eleventh century patriarch who wrote the most works, mainly polemical treatises, often in elegant Greek¹⁶. He promoted the zealous John of Melitene remembered by Psellos as being a great writer¹⁷, and saw the cultural collaboration between him and the culti-

¹² Specifically the synod of 1030 contained a *tomos* which defined the Byzantine opinion of the Syro-Jacobite church. Moreover the Syro-Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, John VII bar Abdun was condemned and exiled to Mt Ganos. See ALEXIOS STUDITES: FICKER, *Erlasse cit.*, pp. 12 l. 26-13, l. 2.

¹³ G. DAGRON, *Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin à la fin du Xe et au XIe siècle: l'immigration syrienne*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), pp. 177-216.

¹⁴ A.M. PENTKOVSKIJ, *Tipikon patriarcha Aleksija Studita v Vizantii i na Rusi*, MOSCOW 2001.

¹⁵ Skylitzes in particular thought that Alexios had embezzled money. If indeed Skylitzes was writing in the middle 1050s then his interest in patriarch Alexios may have been rather marginal. In fact he neglects nearly all other activity. He does mention in his prologue that certain historians had written with great animosity in favour and against the patriarch (Demetrios of Kyzikos?).

¹⁶ Especially synod decree of 1030 where he includes a short ekphrasis on Melitene before describing the Syro-Jacobite heresy.

¹⁷ Οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰς τέχνας τῶν λόγων ἐβάδισε καὶ τέλος τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ σεμνῶς προσωμῆλησε, καὶ δεῖγμα του λόγου οἱ ἔκεινοι λόγοι, μεθ' ὅστις μὲν τέχνης ουγκείμενοι, οἵσιν δὲ καὶ τὴν χάριν ὑποδεικνύοντες, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ φιλόσοφον δόσον, πρεσβυτικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπιπρέπον καὶ τὸ λεῖον οὐχ ὑπτίαζον, ἀλλ' ἐπεστραμμένον πρὸς ἐαυτό, τὸ δὲ τεχνικὸν οὐ κακοῦγον, ἀλλὰ τορὸν καὶ ἀκμαῖον καὶ ἥχοιν κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν σάλπιγγα: P. GAUTIER, *Monodies inédites de Michel Psellos*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 36 (1978), p. 100, ll. 44-50.

vated circles of Romanos III Argyros¹⁸. It was during his patriarchate that Niketas Stethatos operated and established his reputation after his master Symeon the New Theologian had died in 1022¹⁹. Thus one may be surprised by the strictness of his religion, his precision of interpretation, the ἀκοίβεια, but one must concede his extremely fine and cultured background. The combination of two elements becomes crucial when one sees the addition he made to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, since it is a cultured patriarch's overview of the nature of learning.

There are three key concepts: tradition, teaching and the doctrines of the holy church fathers. The problem is tied to their innovation (*καινοτομηθέντα* = renewed). Thus the anathema is directed to those who teach new doctrines against the tradition and the thought of the church fathers. In this context one must turn to the writings of Niketas Stethatos who is marked by a peculiar characteristic: he quotes verbatim long passages from church fathers. This is in direct contrast with Symeon the New Theologian who is well known for not quoting but only paraphrasing ideas present in older respected fathers²⁰. Such a choice of Niketas may be defensive. He may be ensuring that his novel ideas are accepted because of the precise textual backing of respected texts. However, one may also interpret it as being an aggressive choice. He may have quoted church fathers in order to establish the correct practice of referring directly to authority. Both these interpretations illustrate that there were contemporaries who were creating some sort of intellectual revolution and who were probably teaching at this time. In fact the anathema is directed against those who teach without precise references to accepted authority such as the church fathers.

Moreover, Niketas Stethatos has an interesting exchange of letters in which he tackles this problem directly with fellow monks²¹. Thus it is clear that the problem of the authority of teaching was not a question of

¹⁸ Psellos criticizes the culture at the court of Romanos III Argyros, but seems to have a partial view. For the question see F. LAURITZEN, *The miliaresion poet: the dactylic inscription on a coin of Romanos III Argyros*, in *Byzantion* 79 (2009), pp. 231–240.

¹⁹ The only secure dates for Niketas Stethatos are that he wrote during the last years of Symeon the New Theologian († 1022), opposed the emperor's affair with Maria Skleraina in 1044 and participated in the debate of 1054 with Cardinal Humbert.

²⁰ H. ALFEYEV, *St Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition*, Oxford 2000.

²¹ For a study of this exchange see F. LAURITZEN, *The Debate on Faith and Reason*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 57 (2007), pp. 75–82.

the relation between secular and religious thought, on the contrary the crux of the matter is the nature of orthodoxy itself in relation to its antagonists inside the church and outside it. Such an anathema therefore covers also cases of secular teaching and philosophy as well. In other words the first anathemas added in the *Synodikon C* against Italos did not need to be included since those cases were already dealt by the text under discussion. A concern for philosophy and secular learning brings one to think of the three great writers of the imperial bureaucracy at exactly this time: the poet Christophoros Mytilenaios, Michael Psellos and John Mauropous²². They appear to be three cultivated but very different personalities who are clearly within and defended by imperial circles, in these cases by Michael IV, Michael V and Constantine IX Monomachos. It is in this light that one should interpret the appointment of Psellos as head of philosophers (*ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων*) in 1047 after Alexios' death²³. Indeed these are signs of a vibrant world of discussion on the central question about the relation between secular and church learning. In this context new ideas should be defended by quoting church fathers directly.

Thus from the six manuscripts one sees that there is a concern about teaching and traditional orthodoxy in the period between 1034 and 1041 in terms which are familiar from a contemporary writer. Moreover Niketas Stethatos, unlike his teacher, resorts to extremely precise references to church Fathers. Thus one may see the problem of innovation and tradition in official culture.

This cultural atmosphere of great learning and direct reading and appreciation both of the church fathers and pagan authors only explains the background of a part of this anathema. One should not forget that the text refers to actions going against the church as well and should remind one of the only imperial decree which survives from the reign of Constantine VIII, the first emperor to deal throughout his reign with the Patriarch Alexius Studites. The Novel decrees that all who act against the

²² For the period see the excellent study of N.A. SKABALANOVIC, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov' v XI v. Ot smerti Vasilija II Bolgarobojcy do vocarenija Aleksija I Komnina*, Sankt Petersburg 1884 (repr. 2004); P.V. BEZOBRAZOV, *Vizantijskij pisateli i gosudarstvennij dejatelj Michail Psell*, Moscow 1890 (repr. 2001); J. LJUBARSKIJ, *Michail Psell Ličnost i tvorčestvo*, Moscow 1974 (repr. 2001) and D. ŠESTAKOV, *Tri poeta vizantijskogo vozroždenija*, Kazan 1906 (unavailable to me).

²³ The date is established by J. LEFORT, *Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), pp. 265–303.

emperor will be anathematised automatically. The form in which it has survived is extremely indicative: the text was voted by a synod convoked by the Patriarch Alexios in 1026²⁴. This novel also guarantees church support against the enemies of the emperor. In brief: innovation equals rebellion. Action against the emperor meant action against the church. Of course, the reference to action refers not only to the content of belief but also those questions of rite and jurisdiction which created direct conflict at this time with the Syro-Jacobites. Indeed the continuous animosity and repeated synods (1030–1038) against the intermarriage of the orthodox and Syro-Jacobites does not only represent a question of religion but also a question of inheritance and therefore a juridical problem for the Byzantine Empire in the newly acquired areas of the south east.

This was not simply a theoretical concern of provincial prelates such as John of Melitene, it has practical implications if one turns to the legal manual of the Judge of the Hippodrome Eustathios Rhomaios (the *Πεῖρα*) who also deals with questions about legal precedent concerning marriage disputes²⁵. In one case he refers directly to a canon of Alexios Studites²⁶. Thus in this period precisely there is an interest in the legal application of church doctrines by the state and viceversa. Moreover the six manuscripts of the *Synodikon M* in question also contain collections of canon law. This is further proof of the connection between Alexios Studites' concern for canon law and the *Synodikon*.

Moreover the accent on the practical side of Orthodoxy is not simply directed against disputes about intermarriage and inheritance with the Syro-Jacobite community which was not in communion with Byzantine Orthodoxy, it was also directed at those orthodox who appeared to have gone astray. One cannot forget that at exactly this time one starts to have clear reactions from the Byzantine church against sects similar to the Bogomils. One may think of the treatise written by

²⁴ Τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἡ ἐπιβουλάς ἀπό γε τοῦ νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡ μούτω, ἀνάθεμα. Τοῖς συμπράττουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ συγκοινωνοῦσι ἐν τῇ ἀποστασίᾳ, ἀνάθεμα. Τοῖς συμβουλεύουσιν ἡ παρορμῶσιν εἰς τὰ τοιάτα, ἀνάθεμα. Τοῖς συνεκτροπατεύουσι τούτοις, ἀνάθεμα. Τοῖς δεχόμενοις αὐτοὺς ἐν μετανοίᾳ, μὴ μεταμελουμένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ καταληπτάνοντας αὐτήν, ἀνάθεμα: J. and P. ZEPPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I, Athens 1931, Novella xxxi, pp. 273–274.

²⁵ ZEPPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum* cit., IV, especially chapter XLIX, pp. 196–220.

²⁶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ πλαγίου συγγενῶν ἄχρις τοῦ ἐβδόμου βαθμοῦ κωλύεται ὁ γάμος, καὶ οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν ὁ δισεξάδελφος τὴν τοίτην ἔξαδέλφην ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξ ἀγχιστείας ὁ ἐβδόμος βαθμὸς οὐ κωλύεται. ἐπὶ μέντοι κληρονομίας καὶ ὁ δύγδονος βαθμοῦ συγγενῆς καλεῖται: *ibid.*, ch. XLIX. 3, p. 197.

Euthymios of Akmonia against the Phoundagiagital²⁷, especially since one of the manuscripts under discussion contains a unique set of 23 anathemas directed against the Bogomils²⁸.

The correct application of canon law within the legal framework of the empire and the jurisdictions of the church may explain why two of the six manuscripts were copies of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* to be given to the patriarchate of Antioch. Thus once more illustrating the connection with the south east of the empire, an interest in canon law typical of Alexios Studites.

Indeed the tightening of ecclesiastic jurisdiction and the spreading of the view of Alexios outside the immediate vicinity of Constantinople explains two unusual phenomena. The first is the translation into Slavonic of the *typikon* of the monastery he established and second is the fact that all the Slavonic versions of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* include the anathema under discussion; the text edited by Mošin is the following:

Все иже свѣтии црквищаго прѣданія и оученія и уставленія свѣтыих и приснопаметнихъ ѿтъцъ нашихъ, новоставленнай и съдѣланнай, и по сихъ съдѣваема: да воудоутъ проѣслятъ²⁹.

Thus the six manuscripts which represent the version of the *Synodikon* generated during the time of the patriarchate of Alexios Studites are the main sources for the *Synodikon* in the Slavic speaking world. This is also the case for the Georgian version which also contains the anathema under discussion³⁰ and therefore points clearly to the diffusion of this text probably before the end of the eleventh century. However this should not be taken for granted since both Nikon of the Black Mountain in the late 11th century and Nicolas of Ankyra refer to the anathema from another source and not from the *Synodikon* as it had been modified under Alexios Studites.

Thus the anathema against the enemies of tradition represents an extraordinary summary of the general outlook of official Byzantine theo-

²⁷ G. FICKER, *Die Phundagiagiten, ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1908.

²⁸ Edited by GOUILARD, *Synodikon*, in appendix III, pp. 311–313.

²⁹ MOŠIN, *Serbskaja Redakcija* cit., 10d, p. 295.

³⁰ Since I cannot read Georgian and the text is unavailable to me, I have employed the following German translation: «Alles, was ausserhalb der Ordnung der Kirche und der Lehre der Heiligen Väter gemacht wurde oder wo es ausserhalb der Rechtgläubigkeiten der Ordnung gemacht werden wird, soll verflucht sein»: VAN ESBROECK, *Das Synodikon* cit., p. 310.

logy at the time of the patriarchate of Alexios Studites. His energy in promoting his view of orthodoxy is indicated by the presence of this very anathema against the enemies of tradition in the *Synodikon* both in the Slavic world as well as the Caucasus. It is also part of a relatively stable version of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, a point which may allow one to believe that Alexios Studites attempted to present his version as the official one and tried to spread it through the Orthodox world. He not only attempted to create a coherent view of heresy in Byzantium but also reveals an active interest in learning and teaching and the problems associated with them.

FREDERICK LAURITZEN

LA CENTIÈME HÉRÉSIE? ISLĀM ET CHRISTIANISME DANS L'INSCRIPTION DU DÔME DU ROCHER

Dans son célèbre *Livre des hérésies*¹, Jean Damascène dénonce les croyances et le moeurs des musulmans en ce qu'elles s'opposent à l'orthodoxie et à la morale chrétienne. Pour Jean, le mot «hérésie» a un sens très large: c'est une opinion communément admise par un groupe d'hommes, mais rejetée par d'autres, et pas seulement une erreur dogmatique au sens strict. Le *Livre des hérésies* est donc un répertoire de toutes les doctrines qui s'écartent de l'orthodoxie chrétienne: c'est ainsi que les vingt premières hérésies parlent du judaïsme et du paganisme grec, et que la dernière concerne l'Islām. L'idée qui s'imposa successivement c'est que, sans être «vraie» comme la religion chrétienne, la religion musulmane repose sur des bases véridiques, et que ces bases sont juives: d'ailleurs, la filiation commune depuis Abraham est affirmée par les musulmans eux-mêmes. En effet les contemporaines étaient dans le vrai quand ils attribuaient aux Juifs un rôle considérable dans la formation de l'Islām, mais deux «déformations» mentales les empêchaient d'en juger sainement: d'une part, l'habitude de considérer toute doctrine nouvelle comme issue des religions préexistantes, ce qui mène à lui dénier toute originalité, et d'autre part le vieux préjugé judéophobe inhérent au Christianisme, qui donne obligatoirement une coloration suspecte à tout courant taxé de «judaïsme».

C'est justement ce que Antonio Rigo a défini l'«arcaïsme» programmatique des hésiologues, toujours enclins à relire un nouveau phénomène d'après d'anciennes catégories et toujours tentés d'insérer n'importe quel group religieux ou de secte dans le cadre d'une généalogie générale de l'hérésie et de l'erreur². Cette attitude est à l'origine du

¹ JOHANNES DAMASCENUS, *Liber de Haeresibus*: B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, IV: *Liber de Haeresibus. Opera Polemica*, Berlin-New York 1981 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 22).

² A. RIGO, *Gli Ismaeliti e la discendenza da Abramo nella «Refutazione del Corano» di Niceta Byzantios (metà del IX secolo)*, dans *I nemici della Cristianità*, a cura di G. RUGGIERI, Bologna 1997 (Testi e Ricerche di Scienze Religiose, n.s. 19), pp. 83-104: 99.

jugement d'après lequel la religion musulmane serait précisément une hérésie et pas une nouvelle religion.

Au XII^e siècle encore, Pierre le Vénérable traitera, lui aussi, l'Islām d'hérésie. Cependant, dans sa propre réfutation de l'Islām, il avoue ne pas savoir s'il doit l'appeler une hérésie en sens propre, car il ne s'agit pas d'une secte issue du Christianisme³:

Non enim haeresis dicitur, nisi exiens de Ecclesia et agens contra Ecclesiam. Sed utrum Mahumeticus error haeresis dici debeat, et eius sectatores haeretici, vel ethnici vocari, non satis discerno. Video enim eos hinc haereticorum more de fide Christiana quaedam suscipere, quae-dam abiicere; hinc ritu pagano, quod nulla unquam haeresis fecisse scribitur, facere pariter et docere.

La tentation de considérer l'Islām comme une hérésie chrétienne est souvent affleurée aussi dans les études islamiques modernes: exemples classiques de cette tendance sont des fameux travaux de John Wansbrough, Patricia Crone et Michael Cook⁴. Mais récemment une combative équipe des savants qui comprend parmi les autres Karl-Heinz Ohlig, Gerd Puin, Volker Popp, Alfred Louis de Prémare et Claude Gilliot est allée jusqu'au point de définir tout court le Coran comme un texte chrétien hérétique et de mettre en doute même l'existence du prophète de l'Islām, Muhammad.

En 2000 le philologue allemand Christoph Luxenberg (ce nom est en réalité un pseudonyme) a publié une étude controversée et stimulante: *Die Syro-Aramäische Lesart des Koran*⁵. À l'aide de sa méthodologie, qui consiste à vérifier si les termes arabes plus obscurs du Coran n'ont pas un équivalent syriaque, Luxenberg indique que certains passages coraniques seraient mal interprétés et conclut que le Coran serait dérivé d'un lectionnaire syro-araméen, contenant des hymnes et des extraits de la Bible, utilisé dans les services rituels chrétiens. Ce lectionnaire aurait été traduit en arabe, dans une intention missionnaire. Il ne s'agissait pas d'inaugurer une nouvelle religion, mais d'en répandre une plus ancienne.

³ PETRUS VENERABILIS, *Adversus nefandam sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, dans *PL* 189, coll. 661-720: 669-670.

⁴ J. WANSBROUGH, *Qur'anic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*, Oxford 1977; ID., *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History*, Oxford-New York 1978; M. COOK - P. CRONE, *Hagarism, the Making of the Islamic World*, Cambridge 1977; P. CRONE, *Slaves on Horses: the Evolution of the Islamic Polity*, London-New York 1980, et EAD., *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, NJ 1987.

⁵ Ch. LUXENBERG, *Die Syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*, Berlin 2004².

En 2005, Karl-Heinz Ohlig et Gerd Puin ont publié *Die dunklen Anfänge. Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam*⁶, un ouvrage collectif où on ne défend pas seulement la thèse controversée qui considère l'Islām comme une hérésie chrétienne, mais aussi la théorie d'après laquelle «Muhammad is not a historical figure and his official biography is a product of the age in which was written»⁷. Le nom même du prophète de l'Islām serait en réalité un titre honorifique qui désignerait Jésus. Le livre en question contient aussi un essai par Luxenberg centré sur la célèbre inscription du Dôme du Rocher (*Qubbat al-ṣakhra*) à Jérusalem⁸. Je voudrais ici discuter l'interprétation de cette épigraphe donnée par le savant allemand, pour vérifier si la thèse de l'Islām comme hérésie chrétienne résiste à l'examen de la critique historico-philologique.

Comme chacun sait, le Dôme du Rocher (fig. 1) est situé sur le Haram al-Šarīf de Jérusalem, et occupe approximativement le milieu de la moitié occidentale de la grande esplanade occupant le quart sud-est de la ville fortifiée⁹.

L'édifice abrite un riche trésor scriptural. Ses longues inscriptions, relevées avec patience et application vers 1900 par le grand orientaliste suisse Max van Berchem¹⁰, commémorent dans le détail les réparations effectuées sur l'édifice. Les plus importantes et inusitées sont celles en mosaïque faisant partie du décor de l'arcade octogonale et les déclarations sur les plaques de fer apposées au-dessus des quatre entrées. Toutes ces inscriptions remontent aux premiers siècles d'existence du bâtiment. L'inscription qui nous intéresse (fig. 2) c'est celle de la face intérieure de l'arcade octogonale. Cette épigraphe est la plus ancienne du complexe et date du 72 hég., soit 691-692¹¹.

⁶ *Die dunklen Anfänge. Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte des Islam*, hrsg. von K.-H. OHLIG - G.-R. PUIN, Berlin 2005.

⁷ K.-H. OHLIG, *Wieso dunkle Anfänge des Islam*, *ibid.*, pp. 7-13: 8.

⁸ Ch. LUXENBERG, *Neudeutung der arabischen Inschrift im Felsendom zu Jerusalem*, *ibid.*, pp. 124-147.

⁹ L'ouvrage de référence sur le Dôme du Rocher est O. GRABAR - S. NUSEIBEH, *Le Dôme du Rocher. Joyau de Jérusalem*, Paris 1997. Cf. aussi O. GRABAR, *The Shape of the Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*, Princeton, NJ 1996.

¹⁰ M. VAN BERCHEM, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, II. La Coupole du Rocher*, dans *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'I.F.A.O. du Caire* 44 (1927), pp. 223-255.

¹¹ *Ed. princeps*: *ibid.*, pp. 230-231. Cf. aussi *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, I, éd. par É. COMBE - J. SAUVAGET - G. WIET, Le Caire 1931 (Publ. de l'I.F.A.O.,



Fig. 1. Jérusalem, Dôme du Rocher.

Mais lisons le texte dans la traduction d'Oleg Grabar¹²:

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux... Il n'y a de dieu que Dieu seul, Indivisible et sans égal.

À Lui la royauté; à Lui la louange. Il fait vivre et mourir. Il est Omnipotent.

Muhammad est serviteur de Dieu et un messager aussi!

Dieu et ses anges prient sur le Prophète. Vous qui croyez, priez aussi sur lui, formulez sur lui un salut plénier.

Dieu a prié pour le Prophète Muhammad, la paix et la bénédiction de Dieu soient sur lui, par la grâce de Dieu.

Gens du Livre, ne vous portez pas à l'extrême en votre religion. Ne dites sur Dieu que le Vrai: seulement que le Messie Jésus, fils de Marie, était l'envoyé de Dieu, et sa Parole, projetée en Marie, et un Esprit venu de Lui.

Croyez en Dieu et aux envoyés, ne dites pas: «Trois»; cessez de le dire: mieux cela vaudra pour vous!

s.n.), nr. 9, pp. 8-9; H. BUSSE, *Die arabischen Inschriften im und am Felsendom in Jerusalem*, dans *Das heilige Land* 109 (1977), pp. 8-24; id., *Monotheismus und islamische Christologie in der Bauinschrift des Felsendoms in Jerusalem*, dans *Theologische Quartalschrift* 161 (1981), pp. 168-178; Ch. KESSLER, 'Abd al-Malik's Inscription in the Dome of the Rock: a Reconsideration, dans *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1970), pp. 1-14, et GRABAR, *The Shape of the Holy* cit., p. 185.

¹² GRABAR - NUSEIBEH, *Le Dôme du Rocher. Joyau de Jérusalem* cit., pp. 78-81.

Fig. 2. Dôme du Rocher: inscription de la face Intérieure de l'arcade octogonale.

Dieu est un dieu unique. À sa transcendence ne plaise qu'Il eût un fils!
À Lui tout ce qui est aux cieux et sur la terre.

Là-dessus qu'il suffise de Dieu comme répondant. Il ne méprisait pas, le Messie, d'être un adorateur de Dieu, non plus que ne font les anges les plus rapprochés. Quiconque d'entre Ses esclaves, par superbe, méprise de L'adorer. Dieu les rassemblera vers Lui en totalité.

Ô Dieu, bénis ton messager et serviteur, Jésus fils de Marie. Salut sur lui le jour de sa naissance, le jour de sa mort, et le jour où il sera ressuscité. Ne dites que la vérité sur Jésus sur qui vous avez des doutes: il est le fils de Marie.

Dieu n'avait pas à se donner de progéniture, à Sa transcendence ne plaise!

Une fois son décret pris, Il n'a qu'à dire: «Sois», et cela est.

Dieu est mon Seigneur et le vôtre. Adorez-Le. Voici la voie de rectitude.

Dieu témoigne qu'il n'est de dieu que Lui comme en témoignent aussi les anges et les êtres de science, et c'est là de Sa part accomplir l'équité. Il n'est de dieu que Lui, le Tout-Puissant, le Sage.

La religion de Dieu est l'Islām. Ceux qui avaient déjà reçu l'Écriture ne divergèrent qu'après avoir reçu la connaissance, et par mutuelle impudence.

Quiconque dénie les signes de Dieu, Dieu est prompt à en demander compte.

Luxenberg accepte en bonne partie la lecture donnée par Grabar, mais il se détache d'elle dans un passage fondamental: en effet, à son avis, l'expression arabe «muhammadun ‘abd(u)llāhi wa rasūluhu (qui Grabar traduit «Muhammad est serviteur de Dieu et un messager aussi!») signifierait exactement «Zu loben ist (gelobt sei) der Knecht Gottes und sein Gesandter»¹³, c'est-à-dire «Le serviteur et prophète de Dieu soit loué». Le prophète de l'Islām disparaîtrait donc du Dôme du Rocher, en faisant place à Jésus-Christ. En effet, selon Luxenberg, le terme «muhammad», qui dérive effectivement de la racine arabe *hammada*, «louer», ne serait pas un nom propre; il s'agirait plutôt d'un gérondif arabe, qui le savant allemand traduit «zu loben ist, gelobt sei»¹⁴, et qui ferait fonction d'un titre honorifique christologique à rapporter au Messie chrétien.

De cette lecture, Luxenberg tire deux conclusions historico-religieuses plutôt étonnantes: la première c'est la mise en doute de l'existence de Muhammad, dont la figure est considérée une création des his-

¹³ LUXENBERG, *Neudeutung der arabischen Inschrift* cit., p. 126.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

toriens musulmans du début de l'époque abbaside. La seconde conclusion de Luxenberg c'est que l'Islām des origines ne serait pas autre qu'une «religiös-theologische symbiose» que l'auteur appelle «vornizenisches syrisch-arabisches Christentum»¹⁵. Piliers de cette doctrine seraient la définition de Christ comme «serviteur de Dieu», la croyance dans un seul Dieu et le refus de la Trinité.

Les conclusions du savant allemand, qui ont été étendues au domaine de la numismatique de la première période de l'Islām par Volker Popp¹⁶, prêtent évidemment le flanc à la critique: on serait tenté de liquider la question comme une bizarrie pseudo-scientifique, mais on doit constater que des thèses pas trop diverses de celles de Luxenberg (je me réfère en particulier aux théories de Michael Cook et Patricia Crone à propos du préteudu «Hagarism» des premiers musulmans) ont conditionné longtemps les études d'histoire islamique. Il semble donc nécessaire de procéder à une analyse synthétique mais ponctuelle des inconséquences de l'hypothèse de Luxenberg.

En première lieu il faut remarquer qu'il-y-a beaucoup de sources non islamiques, et notamment chrétiennes, qui mentionnent Muḥammad comme guide des Arabes à partir de la troisième décennie du VII^e siècle¹⁷; de plus, une étude fondamentale de Gerrit Jan Reinink a démontré que la construction du Dôme du Rocher, avec son explicite attaque à la doctrine chrétienne orthodoxe contenue dans les inscriptions, a provoqué une forte réaction parmi les Chrétiens de Syrie¹⁸:

Three Syriac apocalyptic texts were composed in or shortly after 691/2, the date of the inscription inside the Dome of the Rock (...). Though there are textual and literary differences between these works, they agree in one most important aspect: the Arab rule is to be destroyed fairly soon by the highly idealized figure of the Christian emperor of Byzantium who, in a «holy war» against the Muslim enemies of Chris-

¹⁵ LUXENBERG, *Neudeutung der arabischen Inschrift* cit., p. 141.

¹⁶ V. POPP, *Die frühe Islamgeschichte nach inschriftlichen und numismatischen Zeugnissen*, dans *Die dunklen Anfänge* cit., pp. 16-123.

¹⁷ Pour une liste presque complète et une analyse exhaustive des sources v. R.G. HOYLAND, *Seeing Islam as Others saw it*, Princeton, NJ 1997. Cf. aussi A. DUCELIER, *Chrétiens d'Orient et Islam au Moyen Age. VII^e-XV^e siècle*, Paris 1996.

¹⁸ G.J. REININK, *Early Christian Reactions to the Building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem*, dans *Christianskij Vostok* 2 (8) (2001), pp. 227-241: 241 (= ID., *Syriac Christianity under Late Sasanian and Early Islamic Rule*, Burlington, VT-London 2005, nr. xii). Cf. aussi B. FLUSIN, *Démons et sarrasins*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), pp. 381-409: 408-409.

tianity, will restore Christian authority over Jerusalem and establish a universal *pax Christiana*, which will last until the end of time.

À ces considérations Luxenberg répond que les écrivains chrétiens furent victimes d'un grand malentendu, en confondant le terme «*Muhammad*», appellatif de Jésus, avec le nom propre d'un nouveau prophète¹⁹:

Auch wenn in schriftliche christlichen Zeugnissen von «Mohammed» als dem Propheten der Araber gesprochen wird, so ist dies dadurch zu erklären, dass diese arabische Bezeichnung Christi den aramäisch- oder griechischsprachigen Christen nicht geläufig war. Daher musste ihnen diese fremd klingende Metapher als Name eines neuen Propheten erscheinen.

Même si l'objection de Luxenberg ne paraît pas du tout convaincante, laissons de côté l'historiographie chrétienne ou musulmane et essayons de vérifier la thèse du savant allemand en utilisant des diverses typologies de documentation. En effet, nous connaissons une série de textes protocolaires bilingues greco-arabes (fig. 3) qui sont datés en toute certitude à la même époque de l'inscription du Dôme du Rocher, où la formule arabe «*Muhammad rasūl Allāh*» est traduite comme «*Maamet apóstolos Theoū*»²⁰. C'est donc évident que le terme «*Muhammad*» a ici la fonction d'un nom propre.

Mais la preuve définitive de l'inconsistance de la théorie de Luxenberg, qui fait de Muhammad un personnage littéraire créé par les historiens de la première époque abbaside, est fournie, à mon avis, par un document très particulier: le célèbre tableau des six princes dans le petit palais de Quṣayr ‘Amrah (fig. 4), dans l'actuelle Jordanie²¹.

A partir du moment de la découverte du palais, effectuée par Alois Musil en 1898, l'extraordinaire tableau qui représente six princes (fig. 5), dont quatre sont respectivement identifiés par inscriptions grecques et

¹⁹ LUXENBERG, *Neudeutung der arabischen Inschrift* cit., p. 142.

²⁰ V. par exemple A. GROHMANN, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae*, III: *Series Arabica*, I.2: *Protokolle*, Wien 1924, nrr. 34, 35, 37, 38, 62 et 66.

²¹ Ed. *princeps* du monument: *Kuṣayr ‘Amra*, hrsg. von A. MUSIL, I-II, Wien 1907. Cf. maintenant G. FOWDEN, *Quṣayr ‘Amra. Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 2004 (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 36); C. VIBERT-GUIGUE - G. BISHEH, *Les peintures de Quṣayr ‘Amra. Un bain omeyyade dans la bādiya jordanienne*, Beyrouth 2007 (I.F.P.-O., Bibl. archéol. et hist., 179; Dep. of Antiquities of Jordan, Amman, Jordanian Archaeology, 1), et M. DI BRANCO, *I sei sovrani di Quṣayr ‘Amrah*, dans *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, ser. IX, 18 (2008), pp. 597-620.

الرحمن الرحيم	بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ	1
	[ΕΝ ΟΝΟ]ΜΑΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ	2
	[ΕΛΕΗ]ΜΟΝΟC(ΚΑΙ)ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠ(ΟΥ)	3
[لا] إلَهُ إلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ مُحَمَّدُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ	[]	4
	[ΟΥΚ ΕC]ΤΙΝ Θ(ΕΟ)C CI ΜΗ O Θ(ΕΟ)C MONOC / []	5
	[Μ A AJM E T A P O C T O L O O C Θ]Ε O Y / []	6
أمير المؤمنين عبد الله الوليد	[]	7
	[ΑΒΔ ΕΛΛ]ΑΑΛΟΥΑΛΙΔ [ΑΜΙΡΑΛΜΟΥΜΝ]ΙΝ	8
	[]	9

Fig. 3. Texte protocolaire bilingue greco-arabe (Egyptian National Library, Inv. nr. 66, 95-96).

arabes (fig. 6) comme «César» (l'empereur byzantin), «Chosroës» (l'empereur persan), «Rodorikos» (le roi wisigoth) et «Négus» (le roi de l'Ethiopie), a stimulé l'imagination et l'acuité d'esprit de générations de savants.

Le sens de cette peinture, qui fut endommagée immédiatement après sa découverte et qui est, malgré plusieurs restaurations, dans un état de conservation déplorable, est resté énigmatique jusqu'à présent. Dans son récent livre sur Quṣayr ‘Amrah, Garth Fowden a soutenu que les six rois du tableau seraient «symbolic figures who stand for the whole political and cultural heritage of the world the Arabs had now inherited», en considérant donc la peinture comme un témoignage de la continuité culturelle entre le monde hellénistique et le monde islamique des origines. Toutefois, Fowden n'a pas tenu compte d'une autre inscription arabe, découverte par Enno Littmann sur le vêtement du personnage qui la grande épigraphe coufique identifie comme «César» (c'est-à-dire l'empereur byzantin)²². Cette ultérieure inscription désigne le même personnage comme «Muqawqis», c'est-à-dire le patriarche d'Egypte. Le fait que l'inscription relative au Muqawqis apparaisse sur le vêtement de la figure successivement indiquée comme «César» montre sans possibilité d'erreur que la peinture a eu deux phases distinctes. En effet, cette épigraphe est

²² E. LITTMANN, *Muqauqis im Gemälde von Kuṣair ‘Amra*, dans *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 105 (1955), pp. 287-289.

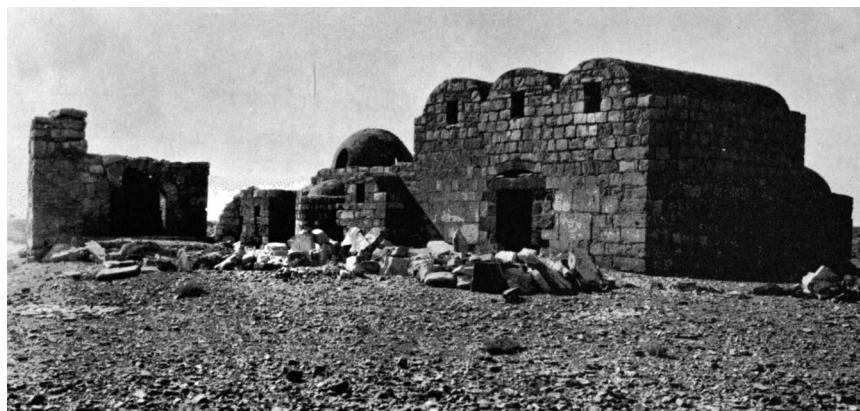


Fig. 4. Quṣayr ‘Amrah, vu du nord-ouest (de *Kuṣejr ‘Amra*, hrsg. von A. MUSIL, Wien 1907).

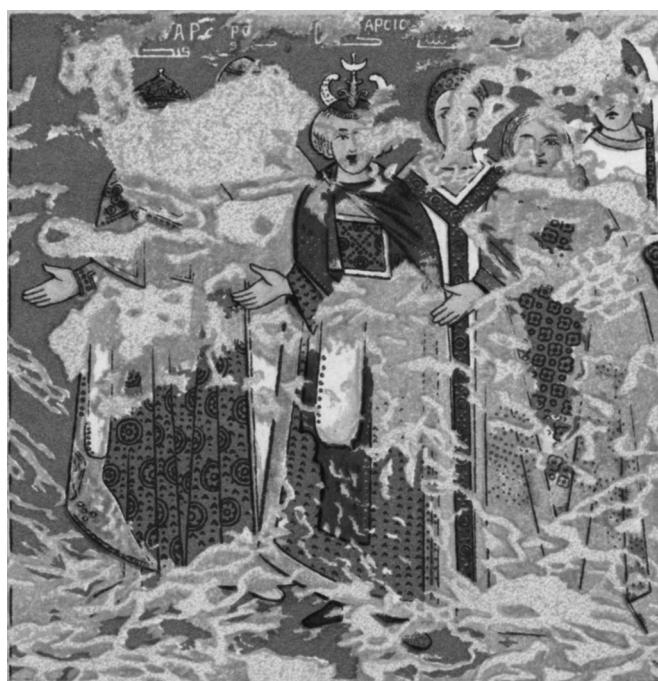


Fig. 5. Quṣayr ‘Amrah, salon, mur ouest: six princes (de *Kuṣejr ‘Amra*, cit.).

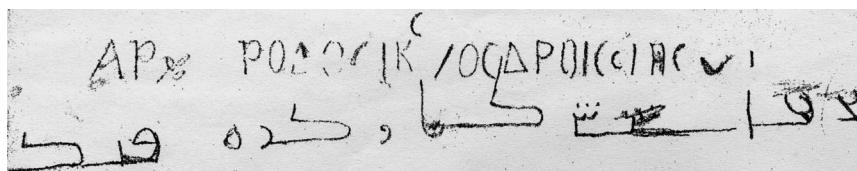


Fig. 6. Quṣayr ‘Amrah: inscription bilingue greco-arabe.

partie intégrante de la décoration du vêtement de «César» et donc appartient à la phase la plus ancienne, où les figures des souverains étaient probablement identifiées avec d'autres inscriptions semblables, qui, de toute façon, aujourd'hui ne sont pas plus lisibles²³.

L'évidente extranéité du roi wisigoth Roderic au contexte des autres personnages représentés dans le tableau fait penser que la primitive version de la peinture dût représenter un group formé par «César», «Chosroès», «Négus» et «Muqawqis», c'est-à-dire le prince qui en 628 après J.-Ch. reçurent une ambassade de Muḥammad qui les invitait à se convertir à l'Islām (les autres deux figures, qui ne sont pas identifiés par des inscriptions, sont identifiables par le contexte avec les autres deux destinataires de l'ambassade: le phylarque *ghassanide* et le prince de la *Yāmāmah*)²⁴.

De tout cela nous pouvons conclure que à l'origine du changement il y eu la volonté d'insérer la figure de Roderic dans un group dont elle ne faisait pas partie. Par la simple apposition des inscriptions bilingues, l'iconographie initiale fut transformé, même si seulement du point de vue symbolique, dans une scène partialement différente et plus actuelle, centrée sur le roi wisigoth de l'Espagne qui fut vaincu par les musulmans en 711 après J.-Ch.

²³ Sur la question v. maintenant M. DI BRANCO, *Storie arabe di Greci e di Romani. La Grecia e Roma nella storiografia arabo-islamica medievale*, Pisa 2009 (Greco, Arabo, Latino. Le Vie del sapere. Studi, 1), p. 247: «nel nuovo contesto, la figura del "Muqawqis" – non propriamente un sovrano – non è più necessaria: il suo nome non compare nelle nuove iscrizioni. La sua figura è successivamente indicata come "Cesare", ma la scomparsa del personaggio dalla composizione si deve comunque all'inserimento di Roderico. Quanto al motivo di tale sovrapposizione, non va dimenticato che, in realtà, l'unico dei sei principi precisamente caratterizzato è "Cosroe", tutti gli altri risultano iconograficamente intercambiabili. Tenendo dunque ferma la posizione di "Cosroe" al centro della scena, le nuove iscrizioni saranno state apposte guardando più all'effetto "calligrafico" generale che non alla precisa rispondenza dei personaggi così ridefiniti a quelli della fase precedente».

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-243.

Il n'y a pas donc de raisons pour considérer la date de cette défaite comme un *terminus post quem* pour la construction du palais de Quṣayr ‘Amrah ou pour l'exécution du tableau des six princes. Cette date est, au contraire, un *terminus ante quem* pour la première phase du tableaux, qui au moment de la défaite de Rodoric devait être déjà en place.

Ce tableau, qui donc fut peint dans une période très proche du moment de la mise en œuvre de l'inscription du Dôme du Rocher, nous confirme que les événements principaux de la vie de Muḥammad étaient bien connus par le musulmans bien avant de la rédaction des plus anciennes biographies du Prophète. Il serait donc bien que Luxenberg, Ohlig, Puin, Gilliot, Popp et les autres savants de leur école se résignent: il semblerait que un prophète des Arabes nommé Muḥammad ait réellement existé et que l'Islām, comme Pierre le Vénérable avait déjà compris il y a 900 ans, ne se fasse pas réduire facilement en une simple hérésie chrétienne.

MARCO DI BRANCO

REGARDS CROISÉS DES HÉRÉSIOLOGUES, DES CANONISTES ET DES HAGIOGRAPHES SUR LES JUIFS À BYZANCE

Il serait bien sûr absurde, pour nous modernes, de considérer historiquement le judaïsme comme une hérésie du christianisme, mais il est intéressant de constater que les Byzantins ont souvent décrit le judaïsme à la manière d'une hérésie et édicté des canons relatifs au judaïsme qui le considèrent implicitement non comme une religion vraiment distincte, mais comme une dissidence religieuse par rapport au christianisme, ou au moins comme le risque d'une telle dissidence, le risque de judaïser. Canons conciliaires, législation impériale, hérésiologues et canonistes esquissent une description et une catégorisation du judaïsme, mais expriment aussi des craintes plus ou moins explicites à son sujet. Face à ces textes normatifs par essence, l'hagiographie présente l'avantage de décrire des situations individuelles concrètes, au moins en théorie: en pratique, ces textes sont le fruit d'une mise en forme du réel, souvent poussée jusqu'à l'invention pure et simple à travers l'usage des *topoi*. Il n'en reste pas moins que l'hagiographie, même romancée, ne présente pas directement un discours normatif, mais des scénarios narratifs qui mobilisent implicitement des normes qui peuvent très bien être officieuses et inconnues des codifications, ou qui ignorent les normes officielles théoriquement en vigueur. C'est à la recherche de tels décalages que nous avons parcouru divers textes.

La comparaison entre ces deux corpus est gênée par un premier décalage, celui de la chronologie: les normes fondamentales du droit impérial et du droit canon sur le judaïsme sont mises en place comparativement très tôt, dès le IV^e siècle pour beaucoup de décrets conciliaires, du IV^e au VI^e pour la législation impériale qui ne varie presque plus sur ce sujet après Justinien¹. Nous trouvons ensuite les canons du concile Quinisexte

¹ Voir A.M. RABELLO, *The Jews in the Roman Empire: legal problems, from Herod to Justinian*, Aldershot 2000; A. LINDER, *The Jews in Roman imperial legislation*, Detroit-Jerusalem 1987, et *The Jews in the legal sources of the early Middle Ages*, Detroit-Jerusalem 1997; dernièrement C. NEMO-PEKELMAN - C. MARTIN, *Les Juifs et la cité. Pour une*

en 691-692, quelques-uns de Nicée II en 787, et surtout le traité de Grégoire de Nicée au IX^e siècle contre le baptême des Juifs entrepris par Basile I^{er}, traité qui vaut œuvre de canoniste et qui laisse ses traces dans les formulaires d’abjuration à imposer aux Juifs voulant se convertir². Puis il faut aller jusqu’aux récapitulations du XII^e siècle, les canonistes Balsamon et Zonaras, la *Panoplie dogmatique* d’Euthyme Zigadène. Or, la plupart des textes hagiographiques et édifiants qui font intervenir la figure du Juif datent ou du VI^e-VII^e, ou d’après Grégoire de Nicée jusqu’au XI^e siècle: il y a très peu de périodes où l’on peut comparer des textes vraiment contemporains dans ces deux types de productions.

Les textes normatifs nous opposent encore deux types de difficultés. Premièrement, ils ne définissent jamais le judaïsme comme une hérésie à proprement parler, et pour cause: le judaïsme étant antérieur au christianisme ne peut pas en être une déviation. Il est commode de commencer par un texte relativement tardif, le traité *Sur les Hérésies* de Jean Damascène³, qui tente de rassembler les données des textes antérieurs; il inclut comme centième et dernière hérésie l’Islam conçu comme perversion du christianisme, et cette conception ne manque pas de justifications dans un contexte des VII^e-VIII^e siècles où beaucoup sont sensibles à la proximité de l’Islam et du christianisme, comme l’attestent les *Récits édifiants* d’Anastase le Sinaïte qui luttent contre la tendance de chrétiens à voir dans l’Islam une continuation du christianisme, à laquelle on pourrait se rallier sans être apostat⁴. Mais Jean Damascène, fidèle au

clarification du statut personnel des Juifs de l’Antiquité tardive à la fin du royaume de Tolède (IV^e-VII^e siècle), dans *Antiquité tardive* 16 (2008), pp. 223-246.

² Éd. G. DAGRON, *Le traité de Grégoire de Nicée contre le baptême des Juifs*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), pp. 313-357.

³ JEAN DAMASCÈNE, *Liber de haeresibus*: B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, IV, Berlin-New York 1981 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 22).

⁴ Voir B. FLUSIN, *Démons et Sarrasins. L'auteur et le propos des Diègēmata stēriktika d'Anastase le Sinaïte*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), pp. 381-409. Vers la même époque, A. DUCELLIER, *Juifs et chrétiens d'après les textes hagiographiques grecs*, dans Ch. BORDES-BENAYOUN (éd.), *Les Juifs et la ville*, Toulouse 2000, p. 31, a cru que la *Vie de Georges de Choziba* contenait l’idée, peut-être unique à Byzance, que les dévots de toutes les religions (païens, Juifs et Samaritains) adorent Dieu: éd. C. HOUZE in *Analecta Bollandiana* 7 (1888), p. 113; mais les pp. 131-135, où Sarrasins et Juifs massacrent les chrétiens pendant l’invasion perse, montrent que dans ce sermon sur l’humilité (*eulabeia*, mal traduit en *pietas* par C. Houze), Georges de Choziba veut faire comprendre que même un chrétien *venu* de ces religions hostiles est aussi bien admis par Dieu qu’un chrétien de souche, à condition d’entrer dans le *système tōn hagiōn*, le corps institué des saints, qui ne peut guère être païen, juif ou samaritain. Le passage reflète néanmoins la situation de concurrence nouvelle entre trois religions.

modèle d'Épiphane, inclut pourtant dans les hérésies ce que nous appellerions maintenant les sectes du judaïsme à l'époque de Jésus, connues à travers le Nouveau Testament et quelques textes des premiers siècles chrétiens: Sadducéens, Pharisiens, Dosithéens, Samaritains et autres sont ainsi mentionnés alors que ce ne sont évidemment pas des «hérésies» du point de vue du christianisme, mais uniquement dans celui du judaïsme – et sans enregistrer clairement que les «Pharisiens» sont en réalité les ancêtres et les modèles du judaïsme contemporain de Jean Damascène⁵. Il y a là un écho d'une théorie chrétienne dont le représentant le plus ardent a été Eusèbe de Césarée dans sa *Démonstration évangélique*: puisque l'Ancien Testament sert uniquement à annoncer le Nouveau, les Juifs qui refusent désormais le Christ sont à différencier radicalement des Hébreux d'autrefois qui attendaient le Christ et étaient dans la vraie foi, comme les patriarches, même si c'était avec une connaissance imparfaite de la vérité divine⁶. Les Juifs sont donc bien en ce sens des «déviants» qui se sont écartés de leurs vraies racines spirituelles, comme l'hérétique s'est écarté de la vérité chrétienne. Ils représentent donc, autour du noyau de la vraie foi, une des potentialités de déviation hérétique que présente Jean Damascène dans sa célèbre préface du *Sur les Hérésies*: hellénisme, barbarisme, scythisme et judaïsme⁷. En fait, barbarisme et scythisme recouvrent les temps les plus anciens décrits par la Bible et manquent un peu de consistance par rapport aux deux autres pôles, ceux que retient un peu plus tard le concile de Nicée II en posant que l'Église tient le juste milieu entre hellénisme et judaïsme: si les iconoclastes hérétiques voyaient dans le culte des images une déviation païenne, «hellénique» au sens byzantin, c'est bien parce qu'ils avaient succombé à une erreur judaïsante qui les avait attirés dans l'excès opposé à l'hellénisme. La logique interne de l'hésiologie amène à une dialectique où l'hérésie est à la fois une déviation à éviter et un point de repère par rapport auquel il faut se définir et s'orienter – plus spécialement pour le judaïsme, que les Byzantins se représentent comme un invariant, un point fixe qui leur permet de se définir eux-mêmes par différence. Le judaïsme permet ainsi d'expliquer d'autres déviations comme celles des

⁵ JEAN DAMASCÈNE, *Liber de haeresibus*: KOTTER, *Die Schriften* cit., p. 23: au total sept «hérésies» du judaïsme, plus les Samaritains.

⁶ EUSÈBE DE CÉSARÉE, *Démonstration évangélique*, éd. I.A. HEIKEL, Leipzig 1913. C'est d'ailleurs la conséquence logique de la théorie d'Origène qui présentait le christianisme comme troisième voie entre paganisme et judaïsme.

⁷ JEAN DAMASCÈNE, *Liber de haeresibus*: KOTTER, *Die Schriften* cit., p. 19.

Arméniens où la prêtrise est de facto héréditaire: le concile *in Trullo* condamne cet usage, et le qualifie de «juif» par référence à la succession héréditaire des lévites et des prêtres dans l'ancien Israël⁸. Le paysage mental des hésiologues, souvent similaire à une série de tableaux gé-néalogiques des hérésies⁹, se présente ainsi parfois comme une représentation spatiale analogue aux systèmes orthonormés cartésiens des mathématiciens, avec abscisses et ordonnées, qui permet de mesurer l'excès ou le défaut de judaïsme, d'hellénisme, etc., qui caractérise et situe telle ou telle hérésie. Le *Synodikon* de l'orthodoxie de 843 reste sur cette position: judaïsme et hellénisme sont les sources de l'hérésie¹⁰. En un sens, les Byzantins pourraient souscrire spontanément à la formule du *Bréviaire* de Nicéphore qui décrit le scandale de 641, l'entrée jusque dans le sanctuaire de Sainte Sophie d'une foule d'émeutiers où il y avait des «Juifs et autres *kakodoxoi*»¹¹: à défaut d'être un hérétique au sens strict, le Juif est bien un homme d'une fausse foi (*kakodoxia*), et donc n'est pas un orthodoxe. Une homélie d'Abraham d'Éphèse au VI^e siècle envoie d'un seul mouvement au feu éternel les hérétiques les plus connus, «tous les autres *kakodoxoi* et les Juifs sans foi»¹². De même, un saint stylite de la fin du VI^e siècle laisse entendre à un arien converti à l'orthodoxie que les ennemis du Christ sont «les Juifs et ceux qui, comme eux, nient et ne reconnaissent pas que le Christ est Fils»: l'opposition des Juifs au christianisme reste le prototype de toute opposition à ce dernier¹³.

Si nous reprenons les sources dans l'ordre chronologique à partir des canons les plus anciens, il est clair que la majorité des prescriptions depuis la *Didachè* consiste justement à se différencier et à se séparer: les chrétiens doivent adopter un calendrier différent des Juifs pour le jeûne et les fêtes, ne pas s'associer aux cérémonies juives, éviter toute relation

⁸ Canon 33, G. RHALLES – M. POTLES, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἑρωῶν κανόνων*, Athènes 1852–1859, II, pp. 379–381; voir P.P. JOANNOU, *Discipline générale antique*, Grottaferrata 1962–1964, I, pp. 166–167.

⁹ Voir A. RIGO, *Messalianismo = bogomilismo: un'equazione dell'eresiologia medievale bizantina*, dans *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56 (1990), pp. 53–82.

¹⁰ Éd. J. GOUILARD, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1968), pp. 45 et 55 (voir aussi p. 83 l'addition de la recension F).

¹¹ Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*, éd. C. MANGO, Washington 1990 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 13), chap. 31, p. 82.

¹² M. JUGIE, *Abraham d'Éphèse et ses écrits*, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 22 (1913), pp. 37–59: 53.

¹³ *Vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, chap. 226, éd. P. VAN DEN VEN, *La Vie ancienne de Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, I, Bruxelles 1962 (Subsidia hagiographica, 32), pp. 197–198.

qui risquerait d'entraîner une contagion judaïsante¹⁴. Ces prescriptions, telles qu'elles apparaissent comme canons dans les listes ultérieures, manquent de considérants et de justifications: la nécessité de se séparer du judaïsme se passe d'explications. Les canons du concile de Laodicée vont dans le même sens, et le canon 11 du concile in Trullo résume bien le type de danger que le judaïsme fait courir aux chrétiens: il ne faut pas recevoir les azymes juifs de la Pâque, ne pas recourir à un médecin juif, ne pas se baigner avec des Juifs¹⁵. Cette liste n'est pas exhaustive, mais des œuvres de visée analogue comme les prédications de Jean Chrysostome à Antioche contre les Juifs ou d'Isaac d'Antioche permettent d'enrichir le catalogue: ne pas prêter serment dans les synagogues juives, ne pas suivre leurs jeûnes. Une voix discordante: le «canon» 96 de Basile de Césarée (en fait, une citation d'une de ses lettres érigée en canon) prescrit qu'on doit aux Juifs, aux païens et aux hérétiques les salutations normales et qu'on peut partager ses repas avec eux¹⁶. Mais ce «canon» ne vise pas exclusivement les Juifs: il envisage tous les cas de rencontre avec des personnes clairement séparées du christianisme, et légitime le maintien des rapports avec eux dans une perspective optimiste (rare à Byzance) où côtoyer l'autre n'entraîne pas de danger de corruption de la foi. Basile n'envisage pas du tout que ce faisant, des chrétiens puissent en venir à reconnaître la sacralité des rites juifs ou accepter des relations où les Juifs seraient en position d'autorité sur eux, comme le recours à un médecin juif: c'est précisément ces dangers qui inquiétaient les conciles. Le concile de Laodicée a pris l'exact contrepied de Basile dans ses canons 37 et 38 qui interdisent de célébrer des fêtes avec les Juifs et les hérétiques, ou de recevoir leurs azymes, et au VI^e siècle, à un laïc qui demande s'il peut partager un repas avec des Juifs ou des païens, Jean de Gaza peut répondre que les «canons de l'Église» l'interdisent, sans néanmoins les citer¹⁷. La position la plus fréquente est que les Juifs doivent être maintenus dans une position d'infériorité sociale systématique pour que les conversions éventuelles se fassent du judaïsme au christianisme et

¹⁴ On comparera à Aphraate le Sage au III^e siècle dont les homélies ont pour adversaire principal le danger judaïque: *Exposés*, éd. M.-J. PIERRE, Paris 1988 (Sources chrétiennes, 349), et Paris 1989 (Sources chrétiennes, 359).

¹⁵ Laodicée 29, 37 et 38, RHALLES - POTLES, *Σύνταγμα* cit., II, pp. 196-197 et 206; concile in Trullo 11, *ibid.*, pp. 328-330.

¹⁶ JOANNOU, *Discipline générale antique* cit., p. 146 (ce canon n'est pas repris dans RHALLES - POTLES, *Σύνταγμα* cit.).

¹⁷ BARSANUPHE ET JEAN DE GAZA, *Correspondance*, éd. F. NEYT (*et al.*), Paris 2001 (Sources chrétiennes, 468), lettre 775, p. 222.

non en sens inverse: c'est ce qu'énonce clairement Démétrios Chomatianos/Chomatènos au XIII^e siècle dans sa réponse à Constantin Cabasilas de Dyrrachion¹⁸, mais malgré la date tardive du texte, ce principe est déjà opératoire au plus tard au V^e siècle.

Enfin, les textes normatifs chrétiens pouvaient envisager le judaïsme comme quasi-hérésie pour une autre raison, l'usage qu'il faisait à l'époque d'un corpus de textes inacceptables dans la perspective chrétienne: ce que le judaïsme appelait la Torah orale, la codification par les rabbins d'un catalogue de règles halachiques tirées de l'Ancien Testament par toute une tradition exégétique. Pour les chrétiens, ce second corpus dénature le premier, seul légitime, l'Ancien Testament lui-même dont une exégèse correcte ne pouvait conduire qu'au christianisme. Il semble bien que, comme le suggère A. Linder, ce soit ce corpus que visait par exemple la Novelle 146 de Justinien de 553 en proscrivant dans les synagogues l'enseignement de ce qu'elle appelle la *deuterosis* (litt. redoublement, répétition)¹⁹. Bien que cet enseignement typiquement rabbinique soit critiqué par les Pères, il ne figure pas dans les canons ecclésiastiques parce qu'il s'agit d'une affaire interne du judaïsme, dans lequel Justinien lui-même n'intervient qu'à la demande de pétitionnaires juifs: l'Église n'édicte de normes que pour les chrétiens. De même, la législation impériale traite souvent des Juifs en même temps que des Samaritains, hérétiques, païens et manichéens, sans pour autant prétendre que les Juifs sont hérétiques: ils partagent simplement avec les hérétiques le déclassement social qu'impose légalement toute dissidence par rapport à l'orthodoxie, et la visée de la législation impériale est uniquement pragmatique. Cette assimilation donne lieu à des formules frappantes, par exemple dans la Novelle de Justin et Justinien de 527: «Nous appelons hérétique toute personne qui n'appartient pas à l'Église catholique et à notre foi sainte et orthodoxe»²⁰, mais c'est en réalité simplement une façon de justifier ce regroupement pêle-mêle de groupes religieux très

¹⁸ PG 119, col. 977; la question de Cabasilas portait en fait sur les Arméniens, mais Démétrios répond plus généralement sur tous les ἀλλόγλωσσοι καὶ ἐτερόδοξοι, Juifs, Arméniens, Ismaélites, Agarènes et autres, dont les Juifs sont clairement le prototype.

¹⁹ Novelle 146 de 533, éd. R. SCHOELL – G. KROLL, pp. 714-718.

²⁰ Codex *Justinianus*, éd. P. KRÜGER, p. 80, l. 10; la l. 12 explicite aussitôt qu'il s'agit aussi de païens, Juifs et Samaritains. De même, le canon 129 de Carthage s'aligne explicitement sur la législation civile pour dénier le droit d'accusation à tous ceux que cette loi disqualifie: esclaves, affranchis, mimes et métiers honteux d'une part, Juifs, hérétiques et païens d'autre part.

divers qui n'ont en commun qu'une caractéristique négative, être extérieurs à l'orthodoxie officielle. Les textes législatifs qualifient néanmoins souvent le judaïsme de «secte» dès le V^e siècle: le pouvoir séculier a moins de scrupules que l'Église à opérer une identification rapide entre Juif et hérétique, dans une catégorie légale et sociologique plutôt que religieuse. Autrement dit, le Juif est perçu comme l'équivalent d'un hérétique et d'un fauteur d'hérésie même en dehors des cas bien réels, mais assez marginaux d'hérésies judaïsantes au sens propre²¹.

Un problème spécifique apparaît à Nicée II, les chrétiens venant du judaïsme. Le canon 8 s'élève contre de faux convertis restés juifs dans leurs cœurs et leurs pratiques (sabbat, etc.): ils doivent être exclus de l'Église et contraints de retourner au judaïsme. On n'accueillera désormais un Juif que si on vérifie sa conviction sincère en lui faisant dénoncer publiquement (*thriambeuein*) les coutumes et pratiques des Juifs²². Comme G. Dagron l'a bien vu²³, il s'agit des conséquences des baptêmes forcés précédents, en particulier celui organisé par Léon III, et ce canon est à l'origine des formules d'abjuration grecques les plus anciennes²⁴. Une seconde version plus longue et détaillée est clairement liée au traité de Grégoire de Nicée contre les Juifs au IX^e siècle, qui réagit au baptême forcé organisé par Basile I^{er}: Grégoire détaille sa réflexion et permet de bien comprendre que sa vraie cible est justement les «coutumes et pratiques» des Juifs conçues comme adventices et plus ou moins diaboliques – Mishnah, rites magiques. Grégoire de Nicée n'a certainement pas lu la *Doctrina Jacobi* et il y a peu de chance qu'il ait eu accès à la légende de Jésus grand-prêtre du judaïsme, un texte assez peu diffusé, mais il retrouve une idée commune à ces deux textes: la cohésion socio-logique des communautés juives ne persiste que parce que l'élite juive, attachée à ses priviléges en ce monde, connaît la vérité du christianisme,

²¹ Pour faire bref, je renvoie au clair bilan de G. DAGRON, *Judaïser*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), pp. 366-367.

²² RHALLES - POTLES, Σύνταγμα cit., II, pp. 583-585; JOANNOU, *Discipline générale antique* cit., pp. 261-262.

²³ G. DAGRON, *Entre histoire et apocalypse*, dans *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991), pp. 37-38 et pp. 43-45; ID., *Le Traité de Grégoire de Nicée*, *ibid.*, pp. 354-355.

²⁴ La meilleure édition des formules reste celle de V. BENESEVIČ, *K istorii evreev v Vizantii VI-X vekov*, dans *Erveskaja Mysl'* 2/1 (1926), dans l'appendice pp. 305-318. Pour la genèse de ces diverses formules, voir P. ELEUTERI - A. RIGO, *Eretici, dissidenti, Musulmani ed Ebrei a Bisanzio: una raccolta eresiologica del XII secolo*, Venise 1993, pp. 42-50; la formule contre les Juifs est la plus ancienne après celle contre les Manichéens et sert de base à plusieurs autres.

mais occulte toute trace qui pourrait y mener ses coreligionnaires et va jusqu'au meurtre pour étouffer toute voix dissidente²⁵. L'endurcissement du cœur des Juifs dont parlaient les évangélistes trouvait sa racine dans une nécessité de l'histoire du salut: il fallait que le Messie soit d'abord rejeté par les siens pour aboutir à la Passion; en revanche, ces divers textes normatifs byzantins assignent une cause proprement humaine et sociologique à la continuation de cet endurcissement des Juifs dans le refus du christianisme, «un monde secret de croyances et de pratiques criminelles» comme le disait G. Dagron²⁶. Le Juif voulant se convertir devra donc non seulement renoncer au judaïsme, mais encore anathématiser explicitement ces usages divers réputés pervers – le commentaire insiste sur l'existence de rites secrets juifs tournant en dérision (*empaigmōs*) le christianisme. Au fond, cela renvoie à la contrainte exaspérante où sont toujours les chrétiens de devoir penser que le judaïsme est dans l'erreur tout en contenant un noyau important de vérité: le mensonge collectif ou le pacte diabolique permettent d'expliquer commodément cet élément gênant et nécessairement adventice du refus du christianisme. La confirmation en est apportée par les formules de serment judiciaire que doit prêter le Juif pour témoigner en justice à l'époque commène²⁷: le Juif doit se livrer à un cérémonial volontairement grotesque où il crache symboliquement sur sa circoncision et évoque le passage d'Israël à travers la Mer Rouge, etc., c'est-à-dire qu'il feint de reconnaître l'infériorité du judaïsme devant le christianisme, mais n'utilise comme garants de sa sincérité que les éléments du judaïsme que l'Église peut reconnaître comme vrais et fondés d'une certaine manière. Lire ces formules comme une preuve de la dégradation de l'image des Juifs n'est qu'une partie de l'affaire: ces formules visent aussi à maintenir l'intégration juridique des Juifs comme sujets de l'Empire, malgré le dénigrement qui pèse sur eux.

On pouvait s'attendre à ce que les interprétations des canonistes du XII^e siècle, Zonaras et surtout Balsamon, traduisent une évolution dans les

²⁵ Les premières traces de cette idée se trouvent peut-être dans l'un des récits de l'*Invention de la Croix*, celui dit de Judas-Cyriaque qui date de la première moitié du V^e siècle: J.W. DRIJVERS, *Helena Augusta*, Leyde-New York-Copenhague-Cologne 1992, pp. 165-180. Pour la *Doctrina Jacobi*, voir V. DÉROCHE, *Travaux et Mémoires* II (1991), p. 261; voir G. DAGRON, *Jésus prêtre du judaïsme: le demi-succès d'une légende*, dans J.O. ROSENQVIST (éd.), *Leimón*, Uppsala 1996, pp. 11-24.

²⁶ DAGRON, *Le Traité de Grégoire de Nicée* cit., p. 354.

²⁷ Voir E. PATLAGEAN, *Contribution juridique à l'histoire des Juifs dans la Méditerranée médiévale: les formules grecques de serment*, dans *Revue des études juives* 4 (1965), pp. 137-156, réimpr. dans son *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance*, Londres 1981.

positions chrétiennes face aux Juifs, comme c'est le cas dans d'autres domaines, mais ceux-ci se contentent d'un historique assez exact des canons et soulignent, à juste titre, leur relative cohérence: l'arsenal des normes face aux Juifs n'a pas à être repensé. Les seules innovations sont d'une part que Balsamon tire du canon 11 de Nicée II, par analogie, l'idée qu'il ne faut pas baptiser les Musulmans à la légère, comme le feraient, à l'en croire, des clercs de son époque, et d'autre part que le même Balsamon rappelle que le fait d'avoir eu des relations sexuelles avec une Juive ou une Agarène n'impose pas de passer par un second baptême (!), ce qui en dit plus long sur les craintes de certains chrétiens que sur le droit canon²⁸. De même, le chapitre qu'Euthyme Zigadène consacre à la réfutation des Juifs dans sa *Panoplie* est en réalité un recueil d'extraits sur les préfigurations de la Parousie du Christ dans l'Ancien Testament²⁹: ce florilège a le mérite de nous conserver un extrait inconnu par ailleurs de l'*Apologie* de Léontios de Néapolis, ce qui atteste le sérieux du travail d'Euthyme, mais ne nous éclaire guère sur les rapports avec les Juifs du temps; la pensée des Byzantins sur les Juifs progresse peu.

* * *

Si l'on se transporte maintenant dans le monde de l'hagiographie et des histoires édifiantes, tout change: l'hagiographie présente l'exceptionnel, le monde tel qu'on le souhaite, et non une norme destinée à une application générale effective, en particulier dans les conversions³⁰. On y constate que les Juifs se convertissent, à condition de croiser un saint qui saura les convaincre par son exemple ou ses miracles, comme les deux Juifs que Syméon Salos convertit (pour l'un en le rendant muet tant qu'il ne se convertit pas, pour l'autre, qui est verrier, en faisant casser ses pro-

²⁸ Réponse 49 à Marc d'Alexandrie, RHALLÉS – POTLES, *Σίνταγμα* cit., IV, p. 484.

²⁹ PG 130, col. 257–305.

³⁰ Rappelons des études récentes sur l'image du Juif à Byzance: S.A. IVANOV, *L'attitude à l'égard des Juifs était-elle moins intolérante qu'en Occident?*, dans *Les chrétiens et les Juifs dans les sociétés de rites grecs et latins*, éd. M. DMITRIEV (et al.), Paris 2003, pp. 29–42; A. KÜLZER, *Adversus Iudeos: Anmerkungen zur Judenpolemik in der Hagiographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, dans E. KOUNTOURA-GALAKÈ (éd.), *The Heroes of the Orthodox Church*, Athènes 2004, pp. 191–202; DUCELLIER, *Juifs et chrétiens d'après les textes hagiographiques grecs* cit., pp. 15–33 (ce dernier article a réuni beaucoup de passages intéressants, mais présente souvent de façon erronée leur histoire textuelle ou leur sens); V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Auf der Suche nach den Juden in der byzantinischen Literatur*, Mainz 2008.

ductions jusqu'à obtenir le même résultat³¹. Mais l'hagiographie développe peu le thème de la conversion, au point que même la conversion du seul saint Juif converti dont nous ayons gardé une Vie, Constantin le Juif, est traitée très rapidement par son hagiographe³²: le processus commence lorsque, dans sa ville de Synnada, Constantin fait machinalement le signe de croix après avoir bâillé, à l'imitation d'un chrétien qu'il croise. Puis un autre jour, il croise une procession chrétienne et voit une lumière jaillir de la croix de procession vers lui; enfin, aux funérailles de sa mère, comme il passe devant le martyrion de saint Trophime, il voit ce dernier sortir de son église et venir le prendre par les cheveux. Cela suffit, alors que nous sommes après les canons de Nicée II qui enjoignent de vérifier que les Juifs prétendument convertis le sont bel et bien; il est vrai que Constantin s'est aussitôt fait moine et prouve ainsi sa ferveur. C'est que l'hagiographie n'a pas à rendre compte de la norme moyenne, mais du cas exceptionnel. De même, une homélie de 842 rapporte un miracle arrivé à Thessalonique vers 500 à une jeune Juive qui est poussée au baptême par l'apparition miraculeuse de la Théotokos et de saint Démétrios, se jette littéralement dans les fonts baptismaux sans demander l'avis de l'évêque, puis se fait moniale: tous les contrôles prévus dans les cas «habituels» n'ont pas lieu d'être dans cet événement d'exception³³. Tout se passe comme si les hagiographes étaient persuadés que la conversion ne pouvait s'obtenir que par un véritable miracle: de même que la résistance des Juifs au christianisme reste mystérieuse pour les Byzantins, les mécanismes de la conversion le sont aussi dans les Vies de saints³⁴. Ils le sont moins dans les recueils de miracles qui adoptent

³¹ *Vie de Syméon Salos*, éd. L. RYDÉN, *Das Leben des heiligen Narren um Christ Wil-len Symeon von Emesa*, Uppsala 1963, pp. 154 et 163; réimpr. et trad. française dans A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE (éd.), *Vie de Syméon le Fou. Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris 1977, pp. 88, 97.

³² *Vie de Constantin le Juif*, éd. H. DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum Nov. IV*, Bruxelles 1925, pp. 628-656.

³³ V. LAURENT, *Une homélie inédite de l'archevêque de Thessalonique Léon*, dans *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II, Città del Vaticano 1964 (Studi e testi, 235), pp. 281-302. Scénario analogue avec Théodore de Sykéon à qui un Juif présente son très jeune fils sourd et muet; le saint le guérit en ajoutant que c'est là un prétexte agencé par Dieu pour donner le baptême au jeune Juif, ce qui se réalise: éd. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *La Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, Bruxelles 1970 (Subsidia hagiographica, 48), chap. 156a, p. 129.

³⁴ On pourrait juste mentionner le fait que, dans sa vision prémonitoire, la Juive croit être conduite à un bain public ordinaire et non à un sacrement, et ne se rend compte qu'à posteriori de la pleine signification de son geste; mais en réalité, comme pour Constantin, la conversion apparaît comme un phénomène miraculeux à celui qui la vit, presque malgré lui: c'est à rebours de toute psychologie, et cet

souvent le point de vue du miraculé: dans le sanctuaire de Côme et Damien à Constantinople, une Juive se convertit en mangeant de la viande de porc, parce que les saints le lui imposent en rêve comme seul moyen de guérir³⁵. Notons que dans l'*Histoire philosophique* de Damascius, Asklépios à Athènes prescrit d'abord un tel régime à un Juif qui l'accepte, puis modifie sa prescription à la requête d'un païen scandalisé: les Anargyres étaient moins accommodants qu'Asklépios³⁶. La résistance des Juifs à la conversion est déplorée, mais rarement diabolisée; on ne peut citer qu'une histoire édifiante célèbre rapportée par l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Évagre, un supplément du *Pré spirituel* et Grégoire de Tours, avec une variante dans un supplément du *Pré spirituel*: un enfant juif est converti par un hasard providentiel derrière lequel on sent le doigt de Dieu – il consomme avec des condisciples chrétiens les hosties consacrées en excédent qu'on distribuait aux enfants des écoles réputés innocents, et se trouve aussitôt converti par l'eucharistie. Furieux de cette trahison, le père juif, verrier de son état, jette son enfant dans son four où un miracle de la Vierge le sauve: c'est le seul cas où le Juif endosse le rôle de criminel allant jusqu'à l'inhumanité³⁷. Par une compensation logique, les Juifs convertis sont présentés comme des chrétiens au-dessus de la moyenne, comme le jeune Juif baptisé à Chypre au VII^e siècle qui pendant une semaine voit de ses yeux les anges assister à la liturgie³⁸.

Ces sources donnent aux Juifs des rôles très divers. Ils sont parfois de simples éléments du décor, ou des témoins d'événements dans le monde chrétien. Ainsi, même les Juifs de Nicomédie saluent le retour d'exil du patriarche Eutychès: à défaut de les convertir, le patriarche est ainsi reconnu comme une figure morale qui fait l'unanimité dans la cité au-

aspect exceptionnel ne fait que souligner l'exception symétrique et incompréhensible des Juifs... qui refusent de se convertir.

³⁵ Mir. 2, éd. L. DEUBNER, *Kosmas und Damian*, Leipzig-Berlin 1907, pp. 101-104.

³⁶ *Histoire philosophique*, éd. P. ATHANASSIADI, Athènes 1999, chap. 89, pp. 222-224.

³⁷ Ed. E. MIONI, chap. 12, dans *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 17 (1951), pp. 93-94; ÉVAGRE, *Histoire ecclésiastique* IV, 36, éd. dans *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrinus with the Scholia*, ed. (...) by J. BIDEZ - L. PARMENTIER, London 1898, p. 185; GRÉGOIRE DE TOURS, *In gloriam martyrum* 9; variante, éd. Th. NISSEN, chap. 8, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 38 (1938), pp. 361-365; voir J. DUFFY, *Passing Remarks on three Byzantine Texts*, dans *Palaeoslavica* 10/1 (2002), pp. 54-64. La présence de l'histoire chez Évagre et Grégoire de Tours donne un *terminus ante quem* de 593-594.

³⁸ ANASTASE, *Récits édifiants*, éd. F. NAU, dans *Oriens Christianus* 3 (1903), pp. 71-75. Photius félicitait l'archevêque du Bospore (donc, en Crimée) d'avoir commencé à convertir les Juifs de son diocèse, sans doute à l'appui de la tentative de Basile I^r (PG 102, col. 809 A).

delà de sa propre communauté religieuse³⁹. Ils peuvent être brigands dans une même bande que des Samaritains et des chrétiens, et leur comportement n'est ni plus ni moins répréhensible que celui des autres⁴⁰. Le juif peut être encore présenté comme témoin irréfutable de la vérité du christianisme et des sacrements, et sa qualité d'opposant par excellence ne lui donne que plus d'autorité dans ce rôle. Comme l'explique Georges Pisidès dans son éloge du martyr Anastase le Perse, c'est un autre prisonnier juif et non son voisin chrétien qui voit la nuit Anastase célébrer l'Eucharistie en prison avec une troupe d'anges, parce que Dieu a voulu confirmer le miracle «par le témoignage d'un ennemi»⁴¹. L'idée est la même pour le Juif qui voit l'eucharistie consacrée par Basile de Césarée devenir chair et sang⁴², ou la maîtresse juive d'un évêque (!) qui voit un ange célébrer la liturgie à la place de son indigne amant⁴³; dans ces deux cas, il y a conversion du Juif ou de la Juive, et on constate que des récits identiques donnent le même rôle à des Sarrasins, les autres ennemis par excellence du christianisme⁴⁴. Les Juifs peuvent donc être campés comme une opposition latente, de pair avec les hérétiques, mais deviennent ensuite une attestation d'autant plus forte du triomphe du christianisme et surtout du saint, comme dans le cas de Théodore de Sykéon en tournée en Bithynie, sommé de faire un miracle parce que s'est réunie dans ce but une foule «non seulement de fidèles, mais encore de Juifs et d'hérétiques»⁴⁵. De même dans la *Vie de Lazare le Galésiote*, un Juif est mentionné en tête d'une série de témoins non chrétiens de la vertu de Lazare, et il est suivi d'un Arabe et d'un Paulicien⁴⁶. Dans tous

³⁹ EUSTRATE DE CONSTANTINOPLE, *Vita Eutychii patriarchae Constantinopolitani*, éd. C. LAGA, Turnhout-Leuven 1992 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 25), p. 66.

⁴⁰ *Pré spirituel*, chap. 165: PG 87/3, col. 3031.

⁴¹ Éd. B. FLUSIN, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*, I, Paris 1992, pp. 237-239; Georges Pisidès donne la morale de l'histoire là où les Actes anciens d'Anastase, *ibid.*, pp. 67-69, se contentent de rapporter l'anecdote.

⁴² *Vie de Basile du Ps.-Amphiloque*, éd. F. COMBÉFIS, *Amphilochi Iconiensis, Methodii Patarenensis et Andreiae Cretensis opera omnia*, Paris 1664, chap. 7, pp. 177-178.

⁴³ Éd. P. CANART, *Trois groupes de récits édifiants byzantins*, dans *Byzantion* 36 (1966), pp. 5-25: 24-25; la Juive voit aussi le *mélismos*, l'Eucharistie apparaissant sous la forme de l'enfant Jésus vivant que des anges démembrant pour le donner aux fidèles, puis qui réapparaît intact.

⁴⁴ I. DICK, *La Passion arabe de st Antoine Ruwah*, dans *Le Muséon* 74 (1961), pp. 127-133, là aussi avec *mélismos*; CANART, *Trois groupes* cit., pp. 23-24.

⁴⁵ *La Vie de Théodore de Sykéon* cit., chap. 161, pp. 141-142.

⁴⁶ *Vie de Lazare le Galésiote*, éd. H. DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum Nov. III*, Bruxelles 1910, chap. 111-114, pp. 508-588: 542-543; trad. R. GREENFIELD, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion*, Washington, D.C. 2000, pp. 202-205.

ces cas, les Juifs ne sont pas marqués d'une connotation vraiment négative: ils attestent involontairement la supériorité du christianisme à peu près comme l'Ancien Testament préfigure le Nouveau. Il est néanmoins frappant de voir qu'ils sont par excellence les ἀλλόπιστοι, «ceux d'une autre foi».

Lorsque la péjoration apparaît, elle correspond peu aux précisions des canons. Souvent, le Juif est simplement la figure d'un refus tacite du christianisme, sans plus: dans la *Vie d'André Salos*, le mauvais chrétien est celui qui ne se signe pas à l'église et ne vénère pas les icônes, «comme un Juif»⁴⁷. Ce refus est souvent lié à un lieu commun de la patristique: les Juifs, qui en restent au sens concret et historique de l'Ancien Testament, sont donc un peuple «charnel», attaché aux plaisirs de ce monde et à la matière: selon son hagiographe, la famille de Constantin le Juif voulait le contraindre au mariage, parce que les Juifs sont attachés à la chair et à la procréation. Dans une histoire édifiante, un moine chrétien qui essayait de convertir un Juif vertueux et charitable en est empêché par l'opposition de la communauté juive; après la mort du Juif, il le voit aveugle et assis à une table chargée de mets de luxe, sans pouvoir en profiter; le moine lui propose de ressusciter par une faveur exceptionnelle qu'il est sûr d'obtenir et de le baptiser pour qu'il accède ensuite au paradis chrétien, mais le Juif refuse parce que la mort a été si pénible qu'il ne veut pas en passer une seconde fois par là: c'est le matérialisme supposé des Juifs qui explique cette historiette où le Juif semble préoccupé de nourriture jusque dans l'autre monde et veut fuir la douleur avant tout⁴⁸. L'enjeu de l'histoire est de montrer que la vertu des non-chrétiens non baptisés, par exemple les Juifs, ne leur permet pas l'accès à la félicité éternelle, mais seulement à un lieu «neutre» sans souffrance, hors de l'enfer, comme déjà le chrétien Philentolos d'un récit édifiant anonyme sans doute du VII^e siècle⁴⁹. Les Juifs sont cantonnés dans des mérites secon-

⁴⁷ Éd. L. RYDÉN, *The Life of st Andrew the Fool*, II, Uppsala 1995, p. 240.

⁴⁸ CANART, *Trois groupes* cit., pp. 22-23. De même dans la *Vie de Constantin le Juif*, éd. DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum Nov.*, IV, cit., p. 630, les proches de Constantin le poussent au mariage, car, d'après l'hagiographe, les Juifs ne pensent qu'au mariage et à la procréation. Cette image des Juifs amateurs de bonne chère et des plaisirs de ce monde se retrouve dans ANASTASE, *Quaestiones et responsiones*, éd. M. RICHARD - J. MUNITZ, Turnhout-Leuven 2006 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca, 59), *quaestio 26*, p. 52.

⁴⁹ Éd. F. HALKIN, *La vision de Kaioumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana* 63 (1945), pp. 56-64; voir aussi ID., dans *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972), pp. 323-327.

daires, pour ne pas remettre en question le monopole chrétien sur la vraie foi et donc sur le salut.

Une autre péjoration est complètement différente, puisqu'elle campe les Juifs, du moins certains d'entre eux, en suppôts de Satan: c'est le Juif qui arrange un rendez-vous avec le diable à l'hippodrome pour Théophile d'Adana⁵⁰, c'est un médecin et sorcier juif que consulte Justin II pour son malheur⁵¹, c'est le magicien juif chypriote Daniel des *Récits édifiants* d'Anastase le Sinaïte qui ensorcelle les chrétiens imprudents⁵², c'est le sorcier juif qui collabore avec le mage Héliodore dans la *Vie de Léon de Catane*⁵³, et, selon certains chroniqueurs, un magicien juif aurait fourni une amulette au patriarche Photius en échange de son renoncement à la croix⁵⁴. C'est encore cette idée que l'on retrouve implicitement de nouveau chez Anastase: quand un prêtre s'adonnant à la sorcellerie à Chypre est démasqué, le juge lui reproche d'avoir bu au calice eucharistique «avec des lèvres juives», c'est-à-dire à la fois perfides et profanatrices⁵⁵. Il faut bien sûr y ajouter les sources qui attribuent l'initiative de l'iconoclasme à des sorciers juifs venus trouver tantôt le calife Yézid, tantôt l'empereur Léon III. La réputation d'efficacité magique de l'hébreu dès l'Antiquité joue sans doute un rôle dans cette image des Juifs, mais de la magie, même noire comme dans les *Miracles de Cyr et Jean*⁵⁶, on est passé à l'image de la possession satanique. Cette image fait écho dans une certaine mesure aux préoccupations de Grégoire de Nicée, mais sans s'y

⁵⁰ L. RADERMACHER, *Griechische Quellen zur Faustsage*, Vienne-Leipzig 1927, pp. 178–219.

⁵¹ *Vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, éd. VAN DEN VEN, *La Vie ancienne* cit., chap. 208–211, pp. 179–181.

⁵² ANASTASE, *Récits édifiants*, 50, éd. F. NAU, dans *Oriens christianus* 3 (1903), p. 70.

⁵³ Éd. A. ACCONCIA LONGO, *La vita di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro*, dans *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 26 (1989), pp. 39–89: 83.

⁵⁴ PG 104, col. 732; ce trait, ainsi que tout le pamphlet contre Photius où il figure, ne se trouve pas dans l'édition critique de Syméon Magistre par S. WAHLGREN, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, Berlin-New York 2006 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 44), parce qu'il s'agit d'une interpolation à la p. 245 de l'éd. Wahlgren; voir S. WAHLGREN, *Original und Archetypus: zu Zustandekommen und Transformation einer byzantinischen Weltchronik (Ps.-Polydeukes, Symeon Logothetes)*, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 96 (2003), pp. 269–277; J. GOUILLARD, *Le Photius du Pseudo-Syméon Magistros. Les sous-entendus d'un pamphlet*, dans *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 9 (1971), pp. 397–404.

⁵⁵ ANASTASE, *Récits édifiants*, 49, éd. F. NAU, dans *Oriens christianus* 3 (1903), pp. 69–70.

⁵⁶ SOPHRONE, *Miracles de Cyr et Jean*, chap. 55, éd. N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*, Madrid 1975, pp. 370–371.

identifier tout à fait: aucun texte normatif byzantin ne peut déclarer que tous les Juifs sont des suppôts de Satan, sous peine de contredire les textes légaux qui maintiennent le statut de «religion autorisée» (*religio licita*) du judaïsme et les textes théologiques qui affirment la possibilité de conversion des Juifs, et même la certitude de leur conversion à la fin du monde d'après l'Epître aux Romains. Bien des textes patristiques, en particulier ceux sur la fin du monde et l'Antéchrist qu'attendent les Juifs dans leur illusion, reposent implicitement sur l'idée d'une collusion des Juifs par le diable, ou plutôt d'une manipulation des Juifs par le diable⁵⁷. Mais là encore l'hagiographie affirme l'exceptionnel à propos d'individus, de cas extrêmes, et non la norme moyenne: même la *Vie de Léon de Catane* ne signifie pas que tous les Juifs sont des suppôts du diable, mais prouve que c'est de ce côté qu'on attend le plus de tels pactes diaboliques.

Une troisième péjoration n'a aucun écho dans les canons: le Juif mû par l'appât du gain avant tout. Cette image diffusée à satiété en Occident n'a qu'un faible écho à Byzance, et A. Ducellier et S. Ivanov⁵⁸ en ont exagéré l'importance par une présentation inexacte de certains textes: il y a bien une mention en passant dans les *Miracles d'Eugénios de Trébizonde* où un chrétien est comparé aux Juifs dans une affaire d'argent volé, mais il s'agit de faire prêter serment à tous les suspects du vol, et le coupable est bien résolu à «se parjurer et à s'approprier l'argent de façon juive»; c'est le parjure et non l'esprit de lucre qui le rapproche ici des Juifs «perfides» qui ont renié le Christ⁵⁹. De même, une des Petites Catéchèses de Théodore Stoudite, loin d'attribuer aux Juifs la passion du gain, déplore simplement la désertion d'un économie de monastère parti avec la caisse et le compare au seul Judas⁶⁰. Curieusement, on rencontre plus souvent l'image du Juif honnête en affaires face à des chrétiens malchanceux ou peu scrupuleux, comme le miracle de saint Ménas où c'est le chrétien qui cherche à escroquer le juif⁶¹, ou la légende du Christ Antiphonète

⁵⁷ CYRILLE DE JÉRUSALEM, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, éd. A. PIÉDAGNEL, trad. P. PARIS, Paris 1966 (Sources chrétiennes, 126).

⁵⁸ Voir supra.

⁵⁹ LAZAROPOULOS, *Synopsis*, mir. 30, éd. J.O. ROSENQVIST, *The Hagiographic Dossier of Saint Eugenios of Trebizond*, Uppsala 1996 (Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 5), pp. 352-353.

⁶⁰ *Catéchèse* 69, éd. E. AUVRAY, *Theodori Studitis Praepositi Parva Catechesis*, Paris 1891, p. 241. C'est exactement le même *topos*, cette fois bien reconnu par A. Ducellier, que produit Tarasios en faisant du seul Judas la figure de référence de l'esprit de lucre: PG 98, col. 1444.

⁶¹ Éd. P. DEVOS, *Le Juif et le chrétien: miracle de saint Ménas*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*

où le Juif prête généreusement et accepte ses pertes⁶². Bien sûr, dans les deux cas les Juifs se convertissent, mais ces documents suffisent à prouver qu'il n'y pas de stéréotype uniformément négatif des Juifs à Byzance.

L'un des rares textes hagiographiques qui prône concrètement une forme de persécution des Juifs est la Vie de Nikon le Métanoïte, écrite vers l'an mil dans la région de Sparte. Nikon n'accepte de venir protéger la ville contre la peste qu'à la condition qu'on en chasse tous les Juifs; lorsqu'un notable veut garder en ville un Juif bon ouvrier tisserand, Nikon va le chasser lui-même à coups de bâton⁶³. Le cas est souvent cité, mais il reste exceptionnel: le passage à l'acte, à la violence physique envers les Juifs, reste tabou en hagiographie; comme Syméon Stylite le Jeune parvient à le faire comprendre non sans mal à un ex-Arien, il faut haïr les ennemis de Dieu, c'est-à-dire les Juifs, mais il faut ne pas les frapper et se contenter de les «détester en esprit»⁶⁴. L'idée d'une souillure de la ville chrétienne par les Juifs est explicite chez Nikon. On pourrait y voir une forme d'application excessive des canons, mais force est de reconnaître que l'esprit de la conduite de Nikon est tout autre: au lieu de chercher simplement à éviter des fraternalisations trop poussées dans la cohabitation avec les Juifs, il vise une exclusion radicale des Juifs dont l'existence même lui pose problème. En fait, les cas de figure envisagés par l'hagiographie sont toujours en deçà ou en delà des normes des canons: les textes hagiographiques et édifiants abordent bien des thématiques proches de celles des canons, mais proposent des solutions très différentes, souvent parfaitement utopiques malgré leur enracinement dans des préoccupations très concrètes. De même, Nil de Rossano qui plaide pour l'acquittement pur et simple d'un chrétien meurtrier d'un Juif tend en fait à refuser aux Juifs le statut de citoyens protégés par la loi, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans les canons; Nil paraît être plus proche des canons quand il refuse les services que lui propose le médecin juif Domnul, mais curieusement il ne cite pas ces canons⁶⁵.

diana 78 (1960), pp. 275-308; id., *Bons Juifs et mauvais chrétiens: saint Nicolas-saint Ménas*, dans *Analecta Bollandiana* 102 (1984), pp. 157-162.

⁶² B.N. NELSON - J. STARR, *The legend of the Divine Surety and the Jewish Money-lender*, dans *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 7 (1939-1944), pp. 289-338.

⁶³ *The Life of saint Nikon*, éd. D. SULLIVAN, Brookline, Mass. 1987, pp. 112 et 120.

⁶⁴ *Vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, chap. 226, éd. VAN DEN VEN, *La Vie ancienne* cit., chap. 226, pp. 197-198.

⁶⁵ *Bίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὄστρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νεύλου τοῦ Νέου*, éd. G. GIOVANELLI, Grottaferrata 1972, p. 81 et p. 94. Dans le cas du meurtre, Nil fait une autre propo-

Un dernier type de texte édifiant doit être envisagé à part à cause de sa thématique: les révélations miraculeuses sur la fin du monde ou l'histoire du salut en général, dont l'hagiographie méso-byzantine a été pro-digue. Dans ces passages, le caractère narratif habituel de l'hagiographie cède à la place à un véritable discours théorique d'endoctrinement, bien plus proche du normatif. Les tableaux de la fin du monde dans la *Vie d'André Salos* ou la *Vie de Basile le Jeune* insistent sur la damnation finale collective des Juifs. Ce qui se joue dans ces textes n'est pas l'attitude concrète à observer face aux Juifs de l'époque et à leur religion, mais la catégorie intellectuelle où on rangera tout le judaïsme depuis Jésus: il faut alors maintenir une condamnation ferme et sans nuances. Un épisode célèbre de la *Vie de Basile le Jeune* le confirme: le narrateur supposé, Grégoire, disciple du saint, à force de lire la Bible se met à s'interroger sur la religion qui a produit tant de prophètes et de héros, et arrive assez naturellement à l'idée que les Juifs sont encore pieux et agréables à Dieu. Le saint le rabroue et obtient justement à ce propos pour Grégoire une vision de la Seconde Parousie et de la condamnation des Juifs qui ont vécu après le Christ; Moïse vient lui-même invectiver les Juifs qui sont pourtant restés fidèles à sa Loi et leur reprocher leur erreur⁶⁶. C'est en un sens une mise en forme narrative de la nécessité de définir comme erreur le judaïsme après le Christ, si l'on veut soutenir la vérité du christianisme: cette littérature combat la tentation intérieure de survaloriser l'héritage judaïque dans le christianisme, et non la contagion extérieure par les Juifs de l'époque. Nous restons toujours loin des canons. D'autres en restent à l'idée plus optimiste esquissée par saint Paul, tout Israël sera sauvé à la fin des temps, et donc baptisé. Dans la *Vie de Lazare le Galésiote*⁶⁷, un moine frappé d'un accès de folie s'imagine que tous les Juifs vont venir se faire baptiser par lui dans le petit ruisseau proche du monastère: la fin du monde se jouerait au Galésion! L'individu en ques-

sition, d'apparence assez surprenante, qu'on tue six autres Juifs si on exécute le coupable chrétien, et prétend contre toute vraisemblance que c'est la loi; seule la suggestion de C. COLAFEMMINA, *San Nilo di Rossano e gli Ebrei*, dans *Atti del congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano*, Rossano-Grottaferrata 1989, pp. 126-130, peut expliquer l'éénigme en rapprochant du verset Genèse 4, 15 qui prescrit que Caïn sera puni sept fois pour le meurtre d'Abel; Nil ne tient pas compte ici de la loi civile, ni même des canons.

⁶⁶ S.G. VILINSKIJ, Žitie sv. Vasilija Novago, dans *Zapiski imp. novorossijskago Universiteta* 7 (1911), pp. 40-45.

⁶⁷ DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum* Nov., III, cit., chap. 49, pp. 524-525; trad. GREENFIELD, *The Life of Lazaros* cit., pp. 135-136.

tion est fou, mais le scénario dans lequel il s'arroge un rôle grandiose est bien connu et admis: quand on parle d'Israël, et non plus de la tentation de judaïser, la conversion finale apparaît nécessaire pour que la fin des temps advienne et parachève vraiment l'œuvre du Christ.

* * *

Au total, la littérature hagiographique se démarque nettement des textes normatifs – comme d'ailleurs sur d'autres sujets où elle met souvent en scène la transgression des canons. Là où les canons et les lois mettent en place un régime de solutions moyennes et assez modérées, malgré un vocabulaire agressif, l'hagiographie et les écrits apparentés se caractérisent par l'exhibition de solutions exceptionnelles et de cas-limites, avec assez logiquement une forte ambivalence: il n'est pas difficile de regrouper les textes en pôles opposés, d'une condamnation extra-ordinaire agressive des Juifs à une exaltation de certains Juifs ou de leur rédemption à venir. L'ambiguïté de la position théologique et historique des Byzantins face aux Juifs apparaît ainsi plus clairement dans l'hagiographie que dans les textes normatifs: c'est tout l'écart entre idéal souhaité et norme effective plus ou moins réaliste qui apparaît. D'autres genres de littérature reflètent mieux les préoccupations des canons: la *Disputatio* de Serge le Styliste au VIII^e siècle fait mentionner par le débateur juif les chrétiens qui apportent des azymes et de l'huile à la synagogue des Juifs⁶⁸, comme l'interdisent les canons, et nous avons déjà relevé les convergences de nombreuses homélies avec les canons. Les prédicateurs et les auteurs de polémique antijudaïque sont ainsi quasi alignés sur les textes normatifs, du fait d'un évident souci pastoral, alors que l'hagiographie explore les possibilités de l'exception à la règle.

VINCENT DÉROCHE

⁶⁸ A.P. HAYMAN, *The Disputatio of Sergius the Styliste against a Jew*, Louvain 1973 (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 338–339).

«SATANIC HERESY»:
ON ONE TOPIC IN ANTI-ARMENIAN POLEMIC

Anti-Armenian polemics form a rather limited section of Byzantine literature. Compared with, perhaps, the frequent anti-Latin polemics, the number of literary pieces against the Armenians appears much more restrained. On the other hand, we still do not possess a survey of anti-Armenian polemical literature nor do we have a reconstructed history of this polemic¹. As a result, there are no general works devoted to the image of the Armenians as reflected in Byzantine literature. Besides, Byzantine anti-Armenian sources are very diverse. They include serious theological treatises, which, if not imbued with respect for the opponent, are at least restrained in their antagonism towards them, together with extremely superficial tracts notable for their sharp invective. What is striking about many of these polemics is that they contain a large number of forged patristic testimonies, various apocryphal motifs as well as some apparently fabricated stories. My report is devoted to two such tales united through their use of the term «satanic» in their titles as pertaining to Armenian heterodoxy.

The first story is widely known. It is the tale about a certain Sergius and his dog. We meet this account as a section of one of our most important anti-Armenian sources – «The Invective against the Armenians», attributed to a fictional author, namely a certain «Isaac, the Catholicos of Greater Armenia»². Instead, it was most likely written by Euthymios of Peribleptos³. This story is told in the chapter entitled

¹ See for instance: «A substantial body of religious polemic addresses the differences between the Armenian and Greek churches, but with one notable exception this literature has not been the subject of exhaustive investigation as in the case of Byzantine anti-Islamic and anti-Latin polemic» (Sp. VRYONIS, *Byzantine images of the Armenians*, in *The Armenian image in history and literature*, ed. R. HOVANNISIAN, Malibu, California 1981, pp. 65-81: 76).

² Τοῦ δοίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας λόγος στη̄ λιτευτικὸς κατὰ Ἀρμενίων: PG 132, coll. 1155-1218.

³ On the date and the attribution of this text see: V. GRUMEL, *Les invectives contre les Arméniens du «Catholicos Isaac»*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 14 (1956), pp. 174-

«Concerning the Satanic Fast of Artzibouris» (Περὶ τῆς σατανικῆς νηστείας τοῦ Ἀρτζηβουρίου), and deals with the «preliminary fast» of the Armenians.

To wit, a certain Sergius who was «a teacher of the Armenian heresy» (διδάσκαλος τῆς ἀρμενικῆς αἵρεσεως), – this refers to his status as a *vardapet*, – had a dog, which bore the name of Artzibouris (Ἀρτζηβόύρης), – a word which according to our narrator signifies in Armenian «fore-runner» or «he who goes before» (προμηνύτωρ). It was the habit of this Sergius to send his dog ahead of himself when he visited his disciples. The students, seeing the dog, would correctly surmise that their teacher was on the way and would go out to meet him. On one occasion it happened that the dog, sent ahead by Sergius, was killed by wolves. Sergius approached the place to which he sent the dog and then noticed that no one came to meet him. He correctly realized that the dog had been waylaid. Sergius organized a search and discovered the bones of the animal. He understood that the dog had been eaten. In his grief, he commanded all Armenians to annually mourn the loss of his pet and commemorate him with a fast lasting five days at a time of the year established by Sergius himself. Finally, he named the fast after his beloved dog – the fast of Artzibouris. Ever since that day, according to the story, the Armenians hold this fast sacred, but conceal from the Byzantines the actual details of its establishment.

This story was examined in detail by Andrew Sharf in his article «Byzantine Orthodoxy and the “Preliminary Fast” of the Armenians»⁴. Sharf correctly noted that, in spite of its obvious lack of authenticity, it «enjoyed a sort of official status»⁵, bearing in mind its broad circulation and use in serious theological works⁶. The Armenians found the tale extremely offensive and it set their teeth on edge so much that on more

194; G. GARITTE, *Les écrits anti-arméniens dits du catholicos Isaac*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 45 (1960), pp. 711–715; Л.М. МЕЛИКСЕТ-БЕК, *К вопросу о датировке псевдо-Исааковых памфлетов в греко-византийской литературе*, in *Византийский временник* 8 (1956), pp. 208–222.

⁴ In *Byzance: Hommage à André N. Stratos*, II, Athens 1986, pp. 650–672.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁶ For example, together with many other fragments of Pseudo-Isaac's *Invective* the story about Sergius and his dog was included by Euthymios Zygabenos into the anti-Armenian chapter of his *Panoplia* (PG 130, coll. 1188–1189); cf. E. TRAPP, *Die Quellen von Zigabenos' Panoplia, Tit. 23 (Gegen die Armenier)*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 29 (1980), pp. 159–164). Later on it was assumed into the *Panoplia* of Niketas Choniates as well (Ch. 17), etc.

than one occasion in the course of their dialogue and polemic with the Byzantines, they accused their opponents of taking an unhealthy interest in the degrading features of the abominable fable⁷.

We shall now study the background surrounding the origin of this story in order to better understand its significance and the reasons for its broad circulation. Certain researchers supposed that the plot was probably already commonly known long before it appeared in Pseudo-Isaac's *Invective*, which itself was created around the middle of the 11th century. Even so, the attention given to the story in this work is significant and it should be examined only in the context of the entire «Accusatory Speech».

A basic premise of anti-Armenian polemic, which was also expressed in the *Invective*, is that, after seceding from the Byzantine Church and falling into innumerable heresies, the Armenians were forced to deviate from the tradition and from the practices of the early Church, which would have opposed their innovative doctrinal teaching. But the «preliminary fast» did not fit into such a scheme, since it possessed no dogmatic import and was but a local tradition, not only confined to the Armenians⁸. Because of this, the Armenians could not at all understand why the Byzantines so strongly objected to this ancient tradition. In his profession of faith, cited in the «Chronicle» of Matthew of Edessa, the Armenian King Gagik stated that he was indeed perplexed to learn that it was possible to find blameworthy a fast of five days consecrated to the praise of God⁹. The Byzantine strategy of seeking a dogmatic foundation

⁷ Catholicos Nerses Šnorhali (the Gracious), in his «Profession of Faith» so characterized this story: «Such slander referring to us is the product most of all of pagan mendacious teaching. It is above all a way in which to express hatred of the other; when one hates someone, he also hates anything good he hears about the man. He immediately closes his ears, considering it a lie, but he opens his ears to all the lies and fables told about that man and eagerly accepts them as the very truth... And if we were still in the darkness of ignorance, as during the times of idolatry, even then it would have been impossible to accept this legend, which deserves only our utter contempt; all the more so, when today all the world is full of the knowledge of God and the light of wisdom enlightens the whole world» (cf. И. Троицкий, *Изложение веры Церкви армянской, начертанное Нерсесом, католикосом армянским, по требованию боголюбиваго государя греков Мануила. Историко-догматическое исследование*, Санкт-Петербург 1875, p. 46).

⁸ See e.g. Ch. RENOUX, *Samuel Kamfjorec'i, le traité sur l'Aiajawor (1ère partie)*, in *From Byzantium to Iran: in honour of N. Garsoian*, Atlanta 1996, pp. 379–396; Л. МЕЛИКСЕТ-БЕК, *Грузинский извод Сказания о посте «араджавор»*, in *Христианский Восток* 5/2 (1917), pp. 73–111.

⁹ «This fast does not in any way harm the faith; on the contrary, it serves to fulfill its precepts, and besides, no one is to be blamed for five days spent in forbear-

for every detail of tradition was evidently not applicable in this case. Because of this, there was a need for the fictitious legend about the establishment of the fast, where a full range of other ideas, which we meet in the *Invective*, found their expression. By this, I mean a whole group of characteristic features relating to the image of the Armenians. I will now mention two of the most common ones.

First of all comes the assertion that Armenians are naturally mendacious and sly. It follows that they can not at all be trusted¹⁰. In the «Accusatory Speech» we read: «Gregory the Theologian was right to say: “I find that the Armenians are not simple people, but very obscure and abstruse”, that is to say that they are not truthful and open-hearted, but very insidious and secretive»¹¹. Much of what they say is «feigned» (ἐν ύπο-
ζοίσει), told «in order to deceive (πρὸς ἀπάτην) their listeners»¹². They are «full of pretence and cunning» (μεστοὶ ύποκρίσεως καὶ δολιότητος)¹³.

In the same vein, the author describes the «preliminary fast» as a «hidden heresy» (κρυπτὴ αἵρεσις)¹⁴. His reasoning is clear, since he argues that if neither the Byzantines nor even the Armenians themselves can explain how the fast began, this means, without a doubt, that there is something which the Armenians are hiding. What this actually is – becomes secondary and it offers fertile ground for the rich and sophisticated Byzantine fantasy.

The second significant idea found in the *Invective* is that the Armenians intentionally distorted ancient tradition in order to separate themselves from the Byzantine Church and through the Church from the Byzantine Empire as well. This «political» aspect is crucially important for Pseudo-Isaac and he emphasizes it particularly when discussing the origin of the «preliminary fast»: «So, who cannot see through the cun-

ance» (*The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, transl. A.E. DOUSTOURIAN, Lanham, Maryland 1993, p. 120). Cf. also J. GOUILLARD, *Gagik II défenseur de la foi arménienne*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979), pp. 399–418: 413–415.

¹⁰ The «Profession of Faith» of Nerses the Gracious was directed to a great extent against Pseudo-Isaac's *Invective*. And so Nerses wrote: «When this text will be read before the wise Emperor, do not take our account for trickery and cunning, as if we hold one thing in mind but write you another thing...» (Троицкий, *Изложение еретикам* cit., p. 47). «Here we will speak without any deception...» (*ibid.*, p. 33).

¹¹ Καλῶς ἔγραψε περὶ ὑμῶν ὁ μέγας Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος: «Οὐχ ἀπλοῦν γένος εὑρίσκω τῶν Ἀρμενίων, ἀλλὰ λίαν κρυπτόν τε καὶ ὑφαλόν», τουτέστιν, οὐκ ὁρθοὺς καὶ φανερούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα πονηρούς καὶ κυρφίους: PG 132, col. 116οB.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, col. 1161C.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 1197A.

ning and pretence of the God-fighting Armenians! All of this (the author here indicates the various explanations provided by the Armenians concerning the origin of the fast) they compose and invent to deceive the feeble-minded and to pervert them with their heresy. Who... cannot unmask Artzibouris as having nothing to do with Christian tradition or even with the fasting of some holy saint, but as a great and exceedingly awful heresy, conceived and plotted in hatred in order to split and divide Roman Orthodoxy»¹⁵.

It so appears that the fast was established intentionally to spite the Byzantines! It is obvious that the author in one and the same treatise offers two contradictory reasons why the fast was started: first he reveals its supposedly «true» history but then declares that it was only invented by the Armenians to justify their separatist intentions. Thus, the whole story appears to be nothing but a lie. The story, which in itself is little more than an anecdote, seems pointless and serves simply as an embellishment of an ideological program typical of the Byzantines.

* * *

The tale of Sergius and his dog is peculiar in that it traces the origin of only one traditional practice among the Armenians. But we do possess another text, where the same ideas and many others find their complete expression. This text bears the title «About the Satanic Heresy of the *kakodoksoi* Armenians and their Damnable Fasts, and About the Heresies, which They Adopted from the Persian King Hosrov, called Vraba, and About the Seven Weeks, which They Observe in the Course of the Year» (Περὶ τῆς σατανικῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν κακοδόξων ἀρμενίων, καὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν νηστειῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων ὃν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως περσῶν Χοσρόου τοῦ λεγομένου Βραμπάσου, καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἑβδομάδων τῶν φυλασσομένων τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ). I am familiar with two manuscripts which record this text:

1. *Mosquensis Synod. gr.* 298 (Vladimir 436), XIII s., ff. 335–339.
2. *Patmensis* 450, a. 1568, ff. 168v–171v.

¹⁵ Τίς οὖν οὐ συνορᾷ τὴν πανουργίαν καὶ ὑπόχρισιν τῶν θεομάχων ἀρμενίων, ὅτι διὰ τὸ πλανῆσαι τοὺς ἀφελεστέρους καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν αὔρεσιν κατάξαι ταῦτα πάντα μυθολογοῦσι καὶ πλάττουσι; Τίς (...) οὐ νοεῖ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Ἀρτζηβούρην ὅλως παράδοσιν χριστιανῶν ἢ ἄγιον τινὸς νηστείαν, ἀλλὰ αὔρεσιν μεγάλην καὶ σφόδρᾳ φοβεράν παρὰ τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς ἐριστικῶς ἐκτεθεῖσαν καὶ ἐπινοηθεῖσαν πρός ἀποσχισμὸν καὶ διαιρέσιν τῆς τῶν ἁωμαίων ὁθοδοξίας; PG 132, col. 1201C-D.

This text illustrates, by means of a story, how the Armenians established their traditions and devote special attention to the phenomenon of their fast of seven weeks.

After the Armenians split from the Romans on the question of the dogmas pronounced by the Council of Chalcedon, there arose an Armenian Catholicos whose name was Pseudonerses. And fearing that the Romans might come and lay them to waste, rendering them ill for their treachery, the Armenians sent a legation with their Catholicos at its head to the Persian King (βασιλεὺς τῶν περσῶν) Hosrov in order to negotiate terms. The aim of these dealings is expressed in the text both at length and in brief: «Help us and save us from the atrocious slavery of the Romans!». Hosrov replied: «If you wish that I support you, you must accept five of our customs and observe them with great care. This, for us, will be proof that you have definitively repudiated the Roman Empire. And let these five commandments be a testimony of your rejection of the Romans. And you must swear in writing that you will never recant and go back to the Romans. And on such terms I am ready to deliver you from their hands». Hearing heard these things, Nerses and those with him rejoiced, swore an oath, and asked: «What are these commandments which our people should observe?». Hosrov then enumerated them. First – the entire nation must be circumcised. Second – the priests must pray without a belt, having first made three prostrations to the south. Third – during the whole day after celebrating the liturgy, priests must not eat pork. Fourth – the monks must eat meat, cut their hair and urinate in the sitting position. And the last – the fifth – everyone must slit edges on their outer clothing as this is the Persian custom. At this, Nerses turned pale and said: «We are ready to observe all that which you have ordered, but please do not ask us to circumcise our people, for if we do, we will become the laughing stock of the whole world and especially of the Byzantines! We have two vardapets and five archontes, they will follow your orders as to circumcision». Hosrov agreed and the delegation returned to their country, to the city of Dvin. The Catholicos related what the sultan (*σουλτάνος*) had commanded and after the vardapets had given their approval, the Armenians sent them together with five archontes to the Persians in order that they be circumcised on behalf of the entire nation. After the seven returned home from Hosrov, they were met by a solemn procession and the people honored them greatly for their magnificent deed which brought deliverance to the whole nation from the Roman threat.

After this account, the central dramatic episode of the text follows – the Armenian leaders repent of their deed. After a long time had passed, the two vardapets and the five archontes realized their guilt and exclaimed: «Woe unto us, miserable sinners! Woe unto us, who have transgressed the law and fallen away from God and his saints! Woe unto us, who have repudiated the holy Orthodox faith! Woe unto us, the seven, who should have been held accountable for our whole people, who denied and betrayed the holy faith of our fathers and have gone over to the barbarians who know not our Lord Jesus Christ and his holy commandments, who agreed to and accepted their filthy and perverse customs and deeds! How can we justify ourselves before the throne of Christ, after having repudiated the Orthodox Romans and after having joined ourselves to the Persians?».

The seven came to Pseudonerses and accused him of having induced them to commit apostasy. And, in response, the Catholicos revealed to them a vision which he had seen the past night. The Lord appeared to him and showed him a way out of their predicament. The story goes on to describe the actual establishment of the Armenian tradition. First, we hear how seven one week-long fasts during the course of year are established. These are meant symbolically to stand for the atonement of the sins of each of the seven men. In so doing, the Catholicos forbids his listeners to reveal to anyone that the fasts are being established «for the sake of the men» (ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου). Later, the conspirators call together 25 bishops and reveal to them their scheme. Together with the bishops, they pronounce fearful anathemas declaring that if anyone does not observe this seven-week fast, he may not call himself an Armenian. They then set out in writing all these precepts and ascribe them to various Holy Fathers. All of this in order to accuse the Romans of confessing the two natures. Finally, they put together all these writings in one book and entitle it *persika pomnia*, in Armenian *hawatarmat*. And they compose still another book, a smaller one, which they call *mastoues*, wherein they describe all their rituals and regulations. It is in this very book that they include their addition to the Trisagion. It is because of all this that they with full awareness separate themselves from the four Ecumenical Councils, from the Orthodox patriarchs, from the divinely endowed emperors, from the twelve tribes of Israel and from the heavenly kingdom of Christ, the true God. The text closes with a contradictory indication of how it should be chronologically dated¹⁶.

¹⁶ Καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ἐάσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἀριθμουμένους

According to the information given, the Armenians began calculating their years from the time of their schism from the Romans. In this way, the word «schism» (*χωρισμός*) used by the author refers to the Synod of Dvin and not to the Council of Chalcedon. If we assume for example that 552 was the author's date of the Synod of Dvin, then the text was composed in the year 1192 (552 + 640). But deducting 348 years from the date of the schism would yield the year 204 (552 – 348) as the date of the Christianization of Armenia, which, obviously, is impossible. If vice versa we fix the beginning of the 4th century as the date of the Christianization of Armenia, then add the 348 years during which Armenia was Orthodox, and finally add 640 years after the schism, this will take us to the end of the 13th century as the date of composition of the text, what is virtually impossible considering the date of the codex Mosquensis (second half of the 13th century)¹⁷. Nevertheless, such uncertainty would mean that besides this chronological indication we need to find other criteria for dating our text. In my paper, I will simply follow this indication and date the text to the end of the 12th century.

The account which we have just studied is clearly fictional, but it is based on real historical facts and events. It informs us about the Synods of Dvin which took place in 552/553 and in 555. The Persian King Hosrov mentioned in the text is actually Chosroes I Anushiravan (531–579)¹⁸ and the Pseudonerses of the text is in actual fact, of course, Catholicos Nerses II of Bagrevand (548–557).

The author, who was undoubtedly a Byzantine, was gifted with an impressive knowledge *de rebus Armeniae*. For example, from 480-s until the beginning of the 10th century, Dvin was indeed the residence of the Armenian Catholicos. True to form, we read in our account that «Pseudonerses returned to his home (εἰς τὰ ἴδια)... to Dvin». It was in fact Nerses II of Bagrevand who re-established the Armenian fasting program, particularly with the seven week-long fasts mentioned by our nar-

χρόνους ἐξακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα μέχρι τὴν σήμερον, ἀφ' ἣς ἀπεχωρίσθησαν ἐξ ἡμῶν. τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἔτους ἔως τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀριθμοῦσι. τοὺς δὲ τριακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα δικτύο ἔτους διήνυσαν ὁρθοδόξως μεθ' ἡμῶν («And since the time, when they separated from us, and until the present, have passed 640 years, if one reckons time from the creation of the world, and they make no account of the years from Christ until their schism, and they were as Orthodox as we are for 348 years»).

¹⁷ Cf. Б.Л. Фонкич - Ф.Б. Поляков, *Греческие рукописи Московской Синодальной библиотеки*, Москва 1993, p. 142.

¹⁸ In P his name is written as Βραμπάσος, but in M as Βραμπάπος, which can possibly refer to Vramšapuh – the name of an Armenian king (388–414).

rator (according to the story they were indeed invented by the Catholicos). Moreover, the Synod of Dvin did indeed accept the 37 canons of Catholicos Nerses and Bishop Nershapukh Mamikonian (see in the text: ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ ἐβεβαιώσαν... τοὺς νόμους), which were later included into the «Armenian Book of the Canons». Canon 29 (NN29) orders the excommunication of whosoever does not observe the seven weeks of the fast (that is Great Lent) and the Aradjawor¹⁹. Let us recall that the phrase of our text which relates how «they pronounced fearful anathemas declaring that if anyone does not observe the seven-week fast, he may not call himself an Armenian». Finally, the Armenians did begin to calculate time from the date of their Synod of Dvin. Thus in our text we note the phrase stating that the Armenians «make no account of the years from Christ until their schism».

However, towards the end of our text the author, who has, until this point, demonstrated a keen knowledge of the events of the 6th century, for some unknown reason breaks with his chronology. He informs us that the participants of the Synod (the Catholicos, the seven and 25 bishops) compiled two volumes, but the books which he names – *Hawatar-mat*²⁰ and *Maštoc'*²¹ – were actually composed at a much later date. It is informative that our author possesses some knowledge of the contents of

¹⁹ A. MARDIROSSIAN, *Le livre des canons arméniens (kanonagirk hayoc') de Yovhannēs Awjnec'i*, Louvain 2004 (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 606), pp. 623–625.

²⁰ A work of this title (*The Root of the Faith*) is attributed by Step'anos Tarnec'i, Vardan Arewelc'i and the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* to Yovhannēs Mayragomec'i (7th c.). Though some scholars believed it to be lost [R.W. THOMSON, *The shorter recension of the «Root of Faith»*, dans *Revue des études arméniennes* 5 (1968), p. 249; M. VAN ESBROECK, *Ein Jahrtausend armenischer antichalkedonischer Literatur*, in *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 30 (1998), pp. 173–175], today the most popular hypothesis is that it should be identified with the *Knik hawatoy* («The Seal of Faith») [cf. MARDIROSSIAN, *Le livre des canons* cit., pp. 258–260, esp. n. 19; J.-P. MAHÉ, *L'Église arménienne de 611 à 1066* dans *Histoire du Christianisme*, sous la dir. de J.-M. MAYEUR (et al.), IV, Paris 1993, pp. 465–466]. Another volume with the same title was composed by Anania Narekac'i (10th c.). It is not clear to which of the two books our author is referring, since, for example, in the «Seal of Faith» we can note that all the Holy Fathers enumerated by our author are cited [cf. J. LEBON, *Les citations patristiques grecques du «Sceau de la foi»*, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 25 (1929), pp. 5–32; Ch. RENOUX, *Le «Sceau de la foi»: une lacune en partie comblée*, in *Handes Amsorya* 101 (1987), pp. 285–294].

²¹ Maštoc' – the Armenian Euchologion, composed in the 9th century, received its name from Maštoc' Elivardec'i († 897). English translation: *Rituale Armenorum*, transl. F. CONYBEARE, Oxford 1905.

both volumes. Mentioning *Hawatarmat*, he lists the names of the Church Fathers who are cited in this vast florilegium, as well as the aim of the treatise – the refutation of diophysism. Speaking of the *Maštoc'*, our author tells us that it contains the rituals for making animal sacrifices as well as the liturgy of matrimony. The author's precision in dating the addition made to Trisagion to the time closely connected with the events he describes is noteworthy, but it is not clear what he really took the book of *Maštoc'* to mean – a volume compiled during the ninth century or the Armenian rituals in general. In any case, the author's intention is to combine all these facts and events and relate them to the 6th century and this is worthy of mention. A further anachronism is his use of the term «sultan» when describing the events of the 6th century.

But the study of the historical background relating to our text is not my primary aim. I would now like to compare this text with the tale concerning Sergius and his dog from Pseudo-Isaac's *Invective*.

If in fact our text was written towards the end of the 12th century this would indicate that a gap of 150 years passed between the compositions of the two texts. In any case, it is evident that the two texts are entirely different. But nevertheless, a few similarities do connect the two. They are, in fact, united by the same final result: the establishment of the innovative fasts. But the second text contradicts and annuls the story about the dog. According to the later story, the «preliminary fast» is established to atone for the misdeeds of vardapet Sarkis, one of the seven. Could we take this to mean that by the time of the second text, Byzantine society had lost interest in the anecdotal story about the dog? Or was the second text a type of reaction to the constant Armenian reproofs, which were finally taken seriously by the Byzantines? It is also very noteworthy that Niketas Choniates, somewhere at the same time, included the story of the dog in his *Panoplia*. I would also draw the attention of the reader to one of the revised versions of Pseudo-Isaac's «About the Satanic Fast of Artzibouris» which is found in the codex *Parisinus gr. 1631*, ff. 99–105 under the title *Γράφονται καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἔλεγχον κατὰ τῶν ἀρμενίων*, where the story about Sergius and his dog is omitted²².

²² The section concerning the fast ends thus: Άκουέτωσαν τὰ ψευδοπλάσματα τῶν ὀσεβῶν, οἱ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοθόδοξοι, καὶ τὸν ψυχοφθόρον ἀρτζιμούσιν μετὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν προθύμως νηστεύοντες, καὶ νοῆτωσαν τὸν δόλον αὐτῶν, [the story should have been inserted at this point] καὶ ὡς σατανικὴν νηστείαν καὶ ιουδαικὴν παράδοσιν ταύτην βδελυττέσθισαν καὶ ἀποστρεφέσθισαν, ὅρώντες καὶ νοοῦντες ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτῶν αἴρεσιν μεγάλην, διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως αὐτήν μεγαλύνουσιν οἱ παμπόνεροι (ff. 104v–105). Cf. PG 132, col. 1204.

We can further note the fact that the «political» aspect regulating religious differences already outlined in the *Invective*, appears fully precisely in our text. The Armenian betrayal of the faith is presented in the text as an act aimed at gaining definite political benefit, and the adoption and the keeping of the laughable «Persian customs» serve as a sign of total rupture with the Byzantine Empire.

Finally, the idea of a secret reason for the establishing of a «preliminary fast» in the *Invective* is here developed to the magnitude of a full «conspiracy theory» in detail. The highest leadership of the Church and State in tandem with the episcopate secretly establish an innovative Armenian tradition and claim it to be an ancient one sanctioned by the Fathers.

We can note how the image of the Armenians preserves its main features but evolves and develops with time. Similarly, unfeigned mockery gradually takes on the features of disguised humiliation all in the service of a plot full of drama; simple tall tales become a quite credible and not at all farfetched story. Most importantly, a critical approach imbues polemical literature and sanitizes it; thus it becomes more «academic». It would be fascinating to explore similar tendencies in other pieces of Byzantine literature dating from the late twelfth century.

Concluding, I would like to shed some light on the «satanic» theme. In the *Invective*, where the idea of demonic possession of the Armenians is clearly perceptible²³, only the Armenian «preliminary fast» is called «satanic». As the next step, we might note Lucas Chrysoberges' poem «About Artzibouris» (Περὶ τοῦ ἀρτζιβουρτζίου). Here, we read how Sergius visited his pupils in order to «teach them the abominable precepts of Satan» (τὰ μυσαρὰ διδάγματα τοῦ Σατανᾶ διδάξαι) and the dog is called «a precursor of the Antichrist» (τοῦ ἀντιχριστού πρόδοκομος)²⁴. Finally, in our own text we can observe that by that time the whole Armenian tradition is viewed as «satanic» (it must be noted that there is no clear explanation of this adjective in our text; the same is true for the *Invective*). Sharf suggested that the claim of the «preliminary fast» as «satanic» derives from

²³ For example, we read that the devil «dwells in the Armenians» (ἐν αὐτοῖς κατοικεῖ ὁ διάβολος); the Armenian lands are called σατανικαὶ καὶ διαβολικαὶ καὶ δαιμονικαὶ χώραι (PG 132, col. 1189 B and D); Satan «dwells in their bodies; he teaches them their heresies, and sows his chaff luring them to theomachism and apostasy» (*ibid.*, col. 1193A). Even in the story about Sergius and his dog, the dog understood where to go «under the tutelage of a demon» (παρὰ δαιμονὸς ἐνεργούμενος, *ibid.*, col. 1204A).

²⁴ K. DYBOUNIOTIS, *Λουκᾶ Χρυσοβέργη περὶ διαίτης κοσμικῆς τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, in *Nέος Έλληνομυήμων* 18/1 (1922), p. 206 (ll. 182 and 179).

the fact that it was «instituted at the behest of the heretic Sergius»²⁵. The same reasoning is present in our text as well: the Armenian heresy was established by apostates and by those who betrayed the faith. This true and godless origin was cunningly concealed by the Armenians. But does this really explain the use of such specific vocabulary which immediately carries with it clear associations, for example, of Bogomilism and other sectarian groups? I can not think of any better explanation for the use of the word. I believe that we might search for the wider context of the use of the term which might help us to better understand the reasons the Byzantines had for calling the Armenian tradition «satanic» and which might also clarify other aspects of both texts. But at the same time, I believe that searching for the origin of these stories is not at all that valuable. The technique employed in their construction is, in fact, but a skilful and rather eccentric way of expressing some basic ideas which presented themselves in anti-Armenian polemics and determined the Byzantine image of the «heretical» Armenians.

PAVEL ERMILOV

²⁵ «[Ařajawor] was put into the category of satanic heresies primarily because it was alleged to have been instituted at the behest of the heretic Sergius» (SHARF, *Byzantine Orthodoxy* cit., p. 242).

APPENDIX

The text which follows reproduces that given in the codex *Mosquensis Synod. gr. 298* (Vladimir 436) (**M**). In the footnotes I have included those variations which occur in the codex *Patmensis gr. 450* (**P**) without indicating the manuscript. In a few instances, I prefer the Patmos version and I have incorporated its variant readings into the text. I also omit a few obvious errors and all variations in the word order. Words which are missing in P have been placed in square brackets.

* * *

Περὶ τῆς σατανικῆς αἵρεσεως τῶν κακοδόξων ἀρμενίων,
 καὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν νηστειῶν αὐτῶν,
 καὶ περὶ τῶν αἵρεσεων ὥν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως περσῶν Χοσρόου
 τοῦ λεγομένου Βραμπάσου, καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβδομάδων
 τῶν φυλασσομένων τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ¹

Μετὰ ἐκχωρισθῆναι² τὸ γένος τῶν κακοδόξων ἀρμενίων [ἐκ τῶν ὁμαίων] ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ τετάρτῃ συνόδῳ τῇ ἐν Χαλκιδώνῃ, ὑπῆρχεν [ό] καθολικὸς τῶν ἀρμενίων ὁ λεγόμενος Ψευδονοορσέσης. καὶ φοβηθέντες τὴν τῶν ὁμαίων βασιλείαν ὡς αὐτὴν ἀθετήσαντες, προσέδραμον καὶ προσέπεσον τῷ βασιλεῖ [τῶν] περσῶν Χοσρόῃ λέγοντες· «βοήθησον ἡμῖν [καὶ λύτρωσαι] τῆς πικρᾶς παιδείας τῶν ὁμαίων».

Ο δὲ Χοσρόης ἔφη ὅτι³· «εἰ [μὲν] βούλεσθε τοῦ ἔχειν με βοηθὸν καὶ ὑπέρομαχὸν [ὑμῶν], λάβετε⁴ ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐντολῶν πέντε ἐντολὰς καὶ τηθήσατε ἀσφαλῶς, ὅπως πληροφορίαν λάβω περὶ ὑμῶν⁵ ὅτι τελείως ἡθετήσατε τὴν τῶν ὁμαίων βασιλείαν, καὶ ἔστωσαν ὑμῖν αἱ πέντε ἐντολαὶ αὗται εἰς σημεῖον τῆς ἀθετήσεως ὑμῶν. καὶ ποιήσατε μοι ὅρκον ἀσφαλείας ἔγγραφον, ὅπως μηκέτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μεταμεληθέντες ἐπιστρέψητε πρὸς τοὺς ὁμαίους. καὶ ἔτοιμος εἰμὶ τοῦ ἔξελέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν».

Ο δὲ Νορσέσης [f. 335v] καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐχάρησαν

¹ Περὶ τῆς σατανικῆς αἵρεσεως τῶν κακοδόξων ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν νηστειῶν αὐτῶν, τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβδομάδων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς φυλασσομένων δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πέντε αἵρεσεων ὥν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας περσῶν Χοσρόη τοῦ λεγομένου Βραμπαποῦ **M**

² Μετὰ τὸ διαχωρισθῆναι

³ ἔφη ὅτι : ἔφησεν

⁴ λαβέσθαι, sc. λάβεσθε **M**

⁵ λάβετε περὶ ὑμῶν

μεγάλως καὶ ποιήσαντες ἐγγράφως⁶ ὅρκον ἐπέδωκαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπον· «ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, ποῖαι εἰσὶν αἱ [πέντε] ἐντολαὶ⁷ παρὰ τοῦ κράτους σου θε- σπιζόμεναι φυλάσσεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν;».

Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔφη· «πρώτον μέν – ὀφείλης⁸ περιτηθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ γένους σου⁹. δεύτερον δέ – ὅταν μέλλουσιν λειτουργεῖν οἱ ἵερεῖς ὑμῶν¹⁰ ὀφείλωσιν¹¹ ἀποχώνεσθαι καὶ βάλλειν μετανοίας τρεῖς κατὰ μεσημβρίαν πρὸς¹² τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἡμῶν. τρίτον – ἵνα μετὰ τὸ λειτουργῆσαι τὴν αὐτὴν¹³ ἡμέραν ὑπὸ νηεῶν ἀπέχεσθαι¹⁴. τέταρτον¹⁵ – [ὅφείλωσιν οἱ μοναχοὶ ὑμῶν ἐσθίειν κρέα, τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ νηεῶν ἀπέχεσθαι παντελῶς], καὶ ἀποξυρᾶσθαι τὴν κόμην τῆς κεφαλῆς¹⁶, καὶ οὐρῷντες καθέξεσθαι. πέμπτον¹⁷ – ὀφείλωσι¹⁸ τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ἴματίων αὐτῶν σχίσαι, τουτέστι σημεῖον περισκόν».

Ως δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ψευδονορσέστης ἥλλοιώθη αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ εἶπεν· «ὦ μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, περιτομὴν τὸ γένος¹⁹ ἡμῶν μὴ ἀπαιτήσεις καὶ γενώμεθα ἐπίχαριμα πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῶν ὁμαίων, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔτοιμοι ἐσμὲν τού πληρῶσαι κατὰ τὸν ὄρισμόν σου. πλὴν εἰσὶν [ἐν] ἡμῖν διδάσκαλοι δύο Σαρκίσης καὶ Βαρτάνης λεγόμενοι²⁰ καὶ πέντε ἄρχοντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ πληρώνουσι²¹ τὸν ὄρισμόν σου τὸν περὶ τῆς περιτομῆς ἐκ- [f. 336] διδόμενον».

Ο δὲ Χοσρόης ἀπεδέξατο²² τῶν ἐπτὰ διδάσκαλων καὶ ἀρχόντων τὴν πε- ριτομήν. καὶ συνταξάμενος ὁ Ψευδονορσέστης τῷ Χοσρῷ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὰ ἕδια πρὸς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν²³, ἐν τῷ Τβίν. καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τὰ προσταχθέντα αὐτῷ²⁴ παρὰ τοῦ σουλτάνου. καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ βαρταπίτοι αὐτά²⁵, [ῆγουν οἱ διδάσκαλοι], εἶπον· «περὶ τῆς περιτομῆς προσετάχθημεν, καὶ

⁶ ἐγγράφως : ἔγγραφον

⁷ αἱ πέντε ἐντολαὶ : αἱ ἐντολαὶ αἱ

⁸ ὀφείλης : ὀφείλει

⁹ σου : σας

¹⁰ ὅταν μέλλουσιν λειτουργεῖν οἱ ἵερεῖς ὑμῶν : ὅταν μέλλουσιν οἱ ἵερεῖς ὑμῶν εὔχεσθαι

¹¹ ὀφείλωσιν : ὀφείλουσιν

¹² πρὸς : κατὰ

¹³ scr. τὴν αὐτὴν **M**

¹⁴ ἀπέχεσθαι : ἀπέχεσθαι παντελῶς

¹⁵ τέταρτον : τέσσαρα

¹⁶ τῆς κεφαλῆς : τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν

¹⁷ πέμπτον : πέντε

¹⁸ ὀφείλωσι : ὀφείλουσι

¹⁹ τὸ γένος : τοῦ γένους

²⁰ λεγόμενοι : λεγόμενος

²¹ πληροῦντες **M**

²² ἀποδεξάμενος **M**

²³ αὐτῶν : αὐτοῖς

²⁴ αὐτῷ : αὐτοῖς

²⁵ αὐτὸν **M**

δ Ἡριστός περιετμήθη, καὶ Παῦλος δὲ ἀπόστολος λέγει ὅτι δὲ τὸν νόμον τῶν παλαιῶν [τηρῶν] βοηθός ἐστι²⁶», καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνταξάμενοι ἀλλήλοις. [καὶ] ἀπελθόντες πρὸς τὸν σουλτάνον οἱ δύο βαρταπίτοι καὶ οἱ πέντε ἄρχοντες περιετμήθησαν.

Καὶ δεξιωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ἥλθον πρὸς τοὺς δομοφύλους αὐτῶν ἐν [τῷ τόπῳ] τῷ καλούμενῷ Τβίν. οἱ δὲ ἔξελθόντες μετὰ δορυφορίας πολλῆς, ἥγουν σημαντῶν, εὐαγγελίων, σταυρῶν, φώτων, θυμαμάτων²⁷ καὶ λοιπῶν εἰδῶν, προϋπήντησαν αὐτῶν²⁸ τιμῶντες καὶ ἐγκωμιάζοντες σφόδρα²⁹, ὡσανεῖ³⁰ μεγάλα τρόπαια συστησαμένους, καὶ μέγα τι καὶ σωτήριον τοῦ ἑαυτῶν γένους ποιησαμένους³¹ τερατῶδες ἔργον, καὶ τῇ τῶν ὁμαίων βασιλείᾳ ἀποσκιρτήσαντας³². καὶ ἔκραζον λέγοντες: «Ὥ μεγάλοι σωτῆρες [ἡμῶν] καὶ ὑπασπισταί, οἱ ὁυσάμενοι τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς πικρᾶς καὶ ἀνηλεοῦς [δουλείας] τῶν ὁμαίων, ὅτι πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων τὴν ἔφεσιν εἴχομεν τοῦ ἀποχωρισθῆναι ἔξ³³ αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἡ- [f. 33v] δυνήθημεν³⁴, νῦν δὲ τὸ καταθύμιον ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐπληρώσατε καὶ ἐρύσασθε³⁵ ἡμᾶς».

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμερῶν συχνῶν παρφρηκότων, εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐλθόντες³⁶ οἱ δύο βαρταπίτοι καὶ οἱ πέντε ἄρχοντες τῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ ἀθέσμου πράξεως αὐτῶν, εἶπον καθ' ἑαυτούς: «[οὐάι, οὐάι], οὐαὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς [ἐσκοτισμένοις], ἐλεεινοῖς [καὶ] ἀμαρτολοῖς, [οὐαὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐσκοτισμένοις], οὐαὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς παραβάταις τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἀποστάταις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀγίων, οὐαὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀθετήσασι τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τῆς ὁρθοδοξίας, οὐαὶ ἡμῖν ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐπτά διφειλέται γεγόναμεν παρὰ πᾶσαν ἡμῶν τὴν γενεάν, [καὶ] τὴν πατροπαράδοτον [καὶ] ἀγίαν πίστιν ἀπαρνησάμενοι προδόσαντες³⁷, [καὶ] αὐτομολήσαντες³⁸ βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι, μὴ εἰδῶσι³⁹ τὸν Κύριον⁴⁰, μηδὲ τὰς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς, καὶ συναυλισθέντες καὶ μολυνθέντες⁴¹ ταῖς πονηραῖς καὶ ἀθέσμοις πράξεις καὶ τοῖς

²⁶ ὁ τὸν νόμον τῶν παλαιῶν τηρῶν βοηθός ἐστι : ὁ τῶν νόμων τῶν παλαιῶν βοηθός ἐστι

²⁷ θυμαμάτων : θυμαντῶν

²⁸ προϋπήντησαν αὐτῶν : προσυπήντησαν αὐτοὺς

²⁹ σφόδρα : σφοδρῶς

³⁰ ὡσανεῖ : ὄσα ἦν

³¹ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν γένους ποιησαμένους : τῶν ἑαυτῶν γενομένους

³² τῇ τῶν ὁμαίων βασιλείᾳ ἀποσκιρτήσαντας : τὴν τῶν ὁμαίων βασιλείαν ἀποσκιρτήσαντες

³³ ἔξ : ἀπ'

³⁴ SCR. ἡδυνήμεν **M**

³⁵ ἐρύσασθε : ἐρρύσατε

³⁶ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐλθόντες : εἰσέτι συνελθόντες

³⁷ προδόσαντες : καὶ προδόσαντες

³⁸ αὐτομολήσαντες : αὐτομολογήσαντες

³⁹ εἰδῶσι : εἰδότες

⁴⁰ τὸν Κύριον : τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν

⁴¹ συναυλισθέντες καὶ μολυνθέντες : συναλγηθέντες καὶ διολογηθέντες

ἔργοις αὐτῶν. πῶς μέλλομεν ποιῆσαι ἀπολογίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅτι τὸ γένος τῶν ἄγίων καὶ ὁρθοδόξων ὁμαίων ἀπαρνησάμεθα⁴² καὶ συνετάγημεν τοῖς πέρσαις».

Καὶ προσελθόντες⁴³ [μετ' ὁργῆς] τὸν Ψευδονορσέσην⁴⁴ εἶπον· «διὰ τί ἐγένουν τῆς ἡμῶν ἀπιστίας αἴτιος; σὺ ἡμᾶς ἔρριψας εἰς τὸν πυθμένα τοῦ ἄδου, σὺ ἐγένουν αἴτιος ἀπωλείας, σὺ ἐποίησας υἱοὺς διαβόλου, σὺ ἐξέωσας τῆς υἱοθεσίας τοῦ ἐπουρανίου Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός⁴⁵, σὺ ἀπεκάλυψες τῶν ὁρθοδόξων καὶ κατέμιξας τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις Ἑ- [f. 337] θνεσιν».

Οὐ δὲ Νορσέσης ἀκούσας ἀπημαυρώθη τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ οὐκ ἥδυνατο ἀποκριθῆναι λόγον. καὶ μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ καὶ ταπεινώσεως ἔφη⁴⁶ πρὸς αὐτούς· «ὦ ἀδελφοί, ταύτην τὴν νύκτα⁴⁷ ἀπεκάλυψέ μοι ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ ὑποδείξαι⁴⁸ ὑμῖν ὅδὸν μετανοίας καὶ σωτηρίας ὑπόθεσιν⁴⁹ ἔνεκα τούτου, οὗ ὑμεῖς ἀθυμεῖτε καὶ ἀγανακτεῖτε κατ' ἐμοῦ».

Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες μικρὸν εὐθύμησαν καὶ ἐνέκοψαν τὸν ὀδυρμὸν καὶ εἶπον· «τί ἔχεις ἀναγγεῖλαι ἡμῖν ὅδὸν σωτηρίας εἰς τὴν ἀνίατον καὶ ἀσυμπαθῇ ἀπιστίαν ἡμῶν;».

Οὐ δὲ Νορσέσης λέγει· «ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἕορτὴν τῆς [ἄγιας] πεντηκοστῆς, ἦν ἕορτάζουσιν οἱ ὁμαίωι, νομοθετοῦμεν⁵⁰ ἐν τῷ γένει ἡμῶν νηστείαν πρῶτον⁵¹, ἐβδομάδος μᾶς, ἀπαρασάλευτον, ὑπέρ τοῦ πρώτου ἀρχοντος [ἡμῶν] Ἡλία. καὶ εάν τις εἴπῃ ἡμῖν, τίνος νηστεία⁵² αὕτη, ἐροῦμεν⁵³ ὅτι τοῦ μεγάλου προφήτου Ἡλίοι⁵⁴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀναληφθέντος ἐν πυρίνῳ ἀρματι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὅπως μὴ σκῆψις γένηται εἰς τὸ ὑψος τῶν ὁμαίων καὶ τὸ γένος⁵⁴ ὅτι ἡ νηστεία ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχοντος Ἡλία ἐστίν. καὶ ἔστω κατὰ διαδοχὴν εἰς τὸ γένος ἡμῶν [ἢ νηστεία αὕτη] ἐνιαυσιαία, ἐκτελουμένη ἀπαρασαλεύτως⁵⁵ ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος αὐτοῦ. δύο – ὡσαύτως [δέ καὶ] μετὰ ἐβδομάδας τρεῖς ὁρίζομεν καὶ νηστείαν δευτέραν, ἐβδομάδος⁵⁶ ἄλλης μᾶς, ἦν καὶ ἐπονομάζομεν νηστείαν τοῦ ἄγιου καὶ

⁴² ἀπαρνησάμενοι **Μ**

⁴³ προσελθόντες : συνελθόντες

⁴⁴ τὸ Ψευδονορσέσης **Μ**

⁴⁵ Πατρός : Σωτῆρος

⁴⁶ ἔφη : λέγει

⁴⁷ ταύτην τὴν νύκτα : ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ

⁴⁸ ὑποδείξαι : ἀποδείξαι

⁴⁹ ὅδὸν μετανοίας καὶ σωτηρίας ὑπόθεσιν : ὅδὸν σωτηρίας καὶ μετανοίας ὑπόθεσιν

⁵⁰ νομοθετοῦμεν : νομοθετοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς

⁵¹ πρῶτον : ἔναν

⁵² νηστεία : ἡ νηστεία

⁵³ ἐροῦμεν : ἐρείτε

⁵⁴ εἰς τὸ ὑψος τῶν ὁμαίων καὶ τὸ γένος : εἰς τὸ γένος τῶν ὁμαίων

⁵⁵ ἀπαρασαλεύτως : ἀπαρασάλευτος

⁵⁶ ὁρίζομεν καὶ νηστείαν δευτέραν, ἐβδομάδας : ὁρίζομεν εἶναι νηστείαν, ἐτέραν ἐβδομάδαν

μεγάλου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Λουεσαβόρη⁵⁷, ὅπως τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ὀλοψύχως νητεύοντες ταύτην, ὡς [f. 337v] εἰς πρόσωπον ὀνομαζομένην⁵⁸ τοῦ ἀγίου Γρηγορίου. καὶ ἔστω ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἀμαρτιῶν⁵⁹ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἄρχοντος ἡμῶν Κορηκούνερι⁶⁰. τρίτον – [δόμοιώς δὲ καὶ] ὅταν οἱ ὁμαδῖοι ἔορτάζουσι⁶¹ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν, πρὸ τῆς ἔορτῆς θεοπίζουμεν ἀλλης ἐβδομάδος μᾶς [νηστείαν] χάριν τῆς μεταμόρφωσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μὴ γνῶναι τὸ γένος τῶν ὁμαδίων τὴν αὐτίαν τῆς τοιαύτης νηστείας, ὅπως μεμψήμοιοι⁶² παρ' αὐτῶν μὴ γενώμεθα ὡς⁶³ ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου νηστεύοντες. καὶ ἔστω ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου σου, Βαρτὰν βαρταπίετι⁶⁴. τέσσαρα – καὶ σὺν τούτῳ πάλιν μετὰ μῆνα ἔνα ὀφείλωμεν νηστεῦσαι ἐτέρας ἐβδομάδος μᾶς νηστείαν τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον⁶⁵ Πακκοροκῆ⁶⁶, πρὸς λήθην τῶν ὁμαδίων ὡς εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωργίου ἐπονομαζομένην. καὶ ἔστω ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου ἄρχοντος ἡμῶν Κούνερη. πέντε – καὶ αὖθις ἐν τῷ μεσονηστικῷ τῶν Χριστουγεννῶν, ἦν οἱ ὁμαδῖοι νηστεύουσιν⁶⁷, ἔστω ἡμῖν θεομὸς τοῦ νηστεύειν ἐβδομάδαν ἐτέραν, ὡς εἰς πρόσωπον ὀφείλεται⁶⁸ ὅρθηναι τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις [καὶ] μεγάλου ἱεράρχου Ἱακώβου Νησίβεως, τουτέστι Νησεπῆς⁶⁹, συγκαλουμένη [τῷ αὐτῷ] ὀνόματι, τοῦ μηκέτι προσκόψαι ἡμᾶς τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν⁷⁰ τῶν ὁμαδίων. καὶ ἔστω ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν⁷¹ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄρχοντος Ἱακώβου. ἔκτον – [καὶ] μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὰς ἔορτὰς ἡμῶν, ἥγουν τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν, τῶν Χριστουγεννῶν καὶ τῶν Φώτων, νομίζομεν καὶ ἐτέρας⁷² μᾶς [f. 338] ἐβδομάδος νηστείαν, ὑποπτευομένην εἶναι τῶν ἔορτῶν προεόρτιον καὶ προκάθαρσις. καὶ ἔστω ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἡμῶν Καλάνδου⁷³. ἐβδομόν – καὶ τὴν ἐβδομάδα τὴν προκαθάρσιον, τὴν λεγομένην τυρινήν, καὶ τιμωμένην παρὰ τοῖς ὁμαδίοις, ἐβδομάδα πρὸ ταύτης νομοθετοῦμεν

⁵⁷ Λουεσαβόρη : Ἐλουεσθούρι

⁵⁸ ὀνομαζομένην : ἐπονομάζομεν

⁵⁹ ἀμαρτιῶν : τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν

⁶⁰ Κορηκούνερι : Κουρκούνερι

⁶¹ ἔορτάζουν **M**

⁶² μεμψήμοιοι : ψεμήμοιοι

⁶³ ὡς : καὶ

⁶⁴ τοῦ νόμου σου, Βαρτὰν βαρταπίετι : τοῦ νόμου βαρταπίετ

⁶⁵ νηστείαν τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον : νηστείαν ἐπιλεγομένη

⁶⁶ Πακκοροκῆ : Σουπαροκοκῆ

⁶⁷ νηστεύουν **M**

⁶⁸ ὀφείλεται : ὀφεῖλει

⁶⁹ τουτέστι Νησεπῆς : τουτέστιν ἡ σεπτή

⁷⁰ προσκόψαι ἡμᾶς τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν : προσψαῦσαι ἡμᾶς τῷ ὀνειδισμῷ

⁷¹ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ομ. **M**

⁷² νομίζομεν καὶ ἐτέρας : νομίζομεν εἶναι καὶ ἐτέρας

⁷³ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἡμῶν Καλάνδου : τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Καλάδ

ἀκριβῶς μᾶς ἐβδομάδος νηστείαν φυλάττεσθαι ἀκριβῶς⁷⁴ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ μάρτυρος Σαρκίση, ὅπως ἀγνοοῦσιν οἱ ὁρμαῖοι. καὶ θεσπίζομεν ἀκριβῶς ταύτην⁷⁵ φυλάττεσθαι ὡς πλήρωμα οὖσαν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβδομάδων, [ῶστε τοὺς πολλοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτου γενέσθαι, μηδὲ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔστω κεφάλαιον πάντων τῶν ἐβδομάδων], ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Σαρκίση βαρταπίετ».

Καὶ μετά τὸ συντάξαι τὴν νηστείαν⁷⁶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβδομάδων καὶ τοὺς θεσμοὺς τούτους ἐπισυνάξας [τοὺς] ἐπισκόπους [αὐτῶν] τῶν ἀριθμῶν εἴκοσι πέντε, ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσαν τὰς ἐναγεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ θεοστυγεῖς νηστείας καὶ [τοὺς] νόμους, καὶ ἀράς μεγίστας⁷⁷ ὅτι οὗτος οὐ φυλάττοι⁷⁸ ταύτας τὰς ἐπτὰ ἐβδομάδας, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρμένιος. καὶ διεφημίσθη⁷⁹ ὁ νόμος καὶ ὁ τύπος οὗτος παρὰ ἀρμενίοις μέχρι τὸ σήμερον.

Σὺν τούτοις [δέ] ἀδείας ἐπιλαβόμενοι ὁ [τε] Ψευδονορσέσης καὶ οἱ δύο βαρταπίετοι ὁ Σαρκίσης [καὶ ὁ] Βαρτάνης, καὶ [οἱ] πέντε ἄρχοντες ὁ τε Ἡλίας, ὁ⁸⁰ Κούερκης, ὁ Κοικουέρης [f. 338v], ὁ Ιάκωβος, ὁ Καλανδός, σὺν τοῖς εἴκοσι πέντε ἐπισκόποις, συνεγράφαντο ἐξ οἰκείας αὐτῶν γνώμης καὶ θελήσεως⁸¹ βίβλον μεγίστην, ὡς ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἔξεθεντο, ἐπέγραψαν⁸² Βασιλείου τῷ ὀνόματι⁸³, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου [Ιωάννου], τοῦ Θεολόγου [Γρηγορίου], [τοῦ Νύσσης Γρηγορίου, Γρηγορίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ Γρηγορίου], Ἐπιφανίου Κύπρου, Ἀθανασίου καὶ Κυρίλλου⁸⁴, καὶ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἀγίων πατέρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅτι ὅλοι ἄγιοι πατέρες καὶ ἵεράρχαι οὕτω γράφουσι καὶ κατηγωροῦσι, καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι⁸⁵ τοὺς ὁρμαίους ὡς ὄμοιογοῦσι⁸⁶ δύο⁸⁷ φύσεις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ⁸⁸, καὶ γεγόνασι νεστοριανοί, καὶ λέγουσι⁸⁹ δύο νίοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς δύο

⁷⁴ ἀκριβῶς – ἀκριβῶς : ἀκριβῶς πρὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβδομάδος ἐβδομάδα μίαν φυλάττεσθαι ἀκριβῶς

⁷⁵ deest **M**

⁷⁶ τὴν νηστείαν : τὴν βδελυρὰν νηστείαν

⁷⁷ καὶ ἀράς μεγίστους **M** καὶ θέντες ἀράς μεγίστους **P**

⁷⁸ οὗτος οὐ φυλάττοι : εἴ τις οὐ νηστεύει καὶ οὐ φυλάττει

⁷⁹ διεφημίσθη : ἐφημίσθη

⁸⁰ ὁ : καὶ ὁ

⁸¹ θελήσεως : βουλήσεως

⁸² ἐπέγραψαν : ἐπιγράψαντες

⁸³ Βασιλείου τῷ ὀνόματι : τοῦ ἀγίου Βασιλείου τὸ ὀνόματα

⁸⁴ Ἐπιφανίου Κύπρου, Ἀθανασίου καὶ Κυρίλλου : τοῦ ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου, τοῦ ἀγίου Ἐπιφανίου, τοῦ ἀγίου Κυρίλλου

⁸⁵ γράφουσιν καὶ κατηγωροῦσιν καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσιν **M**

⁸⁶ ὄμοιογοῦντας **M**

⁸⁷ δύο : τὰς δύο

⁸⁸ Χριστοῦ : Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ

⁸⁹ λέγουν **M**

φύσεις ὁμολογοῦντες⁹⁰ καὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἡροήσαντο Θεόν. καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου⁹¹ ἀπεχωρίσθημεν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

Καὶ ταύτας ὅλας τὰς συγγραφὰς τὰς γενομένας παρ⁹² αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν μίαν βίβλον καὶ ἐπωνόμασαν αὐτὴν «πέρσικα πομνία»⁹³, καὶ τῇ ἐαυτῶν διαλέκτῳ «χαβάτ αρμάτ». ἔγραψαν δὲ καὶ ἐτέθαν μικρὸν⁹⁴ βίβλον καὶ ἐπωνόμασαν «μαστούες»⁹⁵, ἡ περιέχουσα τὰς ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἀνιερωσύνης αὐτῶν, ἥγουν τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ στεφανώματος, τῆς βδελυκτῆς αὐτῶν θυσίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἐνέταξαν ἐν τῷ τρισαγίῳ [ῦμνῳ] τὸ «σταυρωθέντα». καὶ ἐκουσίως ἀπεχώρισαν⁹⁶ ἐ- [f. 339] αυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ ἀπεχωρίσθησαν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν⁹⁷.

Καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας ἐάσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἀριθμουμένους χρόνους⁹⁸ ἔξακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα⁹⁹ μέχρι τὴν σήμερον, ἀφ’ ᾧς ἀπεχωρίσθησαν ἐξ¹⁰⁰ ἡμῶν. τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ [ἔτους] ἔως τοῦ χωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν [οὐκ] ἀριθμοῦσι. τοὺς δὲ τριακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ ἔτους¹⁰¹ διήνυσαν ὁρθοδόξως μεθ’ ἡμῶν.

[Ἀπεχωρίσαν δὲ ἐάντοις καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν θρόνων τῆς χειροτονίας, τῶν δρθιοδόξων πατριαρχῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐστεμμένων ἄγιων καὶ ὁρθοδόξων βασιλέων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νέων δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ].

Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὁ νέος Ἰσραὴλ, δοξολογοῦμεν Πατέρα καὶ Γείον ἐν δύο φύσεσι καὶ Πνεῦμα ἄγιον νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν¹⁰².

⁹⁰ ὁμολογοῦντας **M**

⁹¹ ὑπὲρ τούτου : διὰ τοῦτο

⁹² παρ' : ὑπ'

⁹³ πέρσικα πομνία **M** : περσικαπομνία **P** απ περσικὰ ποίμνια?

⁹⁴ μικρὸν corr. : μικρὸν **M** μικρὸν **P**

⁹⁵ στούντες **M**

⁹⁶ ἀπεχωρίσαν : ἀπεχωρίσθησαν

⁹⁷ ἀπὸ τῶν – Θεοῦ ἡμῶν : ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἄγιων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, καὶ εὐαγγελικῶν θρόνων τῆς χειροτονίας τῶν ὁρθοδόξων πατριαρχῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐστεμμένων ἄγιων καὶ ὁρθοδόξων βασιλέων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἦρων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἀπεχωρίσθησαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν

⁹⁸ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου χρόνους καὶ ἀριθμοῦν **M**

⁹⁹ ἔξακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα χρόνους **M**

¹⁰⁰ ἐξ : ἀφ'

¹⁰¹ ἔτους : χρόνους

¹⁰² Ἡμεῖς δέ – ἀμήν : Ἡμεῖς δέ ὁ νέος Ἰσραὴλ δοξολογοῦμεν Πατέρα, Γείον καὶ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα, μίαν θεότητα, τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν Γείον τοῦ Πατρός καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μετὰ τὸ σαρκωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἄγιας Θεοτόκου, ἐν δύο φύσεσι προσκυνεῖτε καὶ μιᾶς ὑποστάσει. φήση ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας, ἀμήν.

GLI ULTIMI GIORNI DEL DUALISMO BIZANTINO? UN NUOVO TESTO INEDITO E ALCUNE QUESTIONI CONNESSE

Per troppo tempo le pubblicazioni dedicate al Bogomilismo (e anche ad altri gruppi eretici dell'Europa orientale e occidentale durante il Medio Evo) sono state ispirate a principi ideologici, politici e (para)religiosi. La necessità, per gli studi sul Bogomilismo a Bisanzio, di un «ritorno ai testi», testi troppo spesso trascurati a causa di un approccio di tipo sociologico e ideologico del fenomeno eretico, deve essere animata dalla volontà di ampliare il *dossier* di fonti sul Bogomilismo, che è rimasto in sostanza quello edito tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo. Il presente intervento parte dalla presentazione di un nuovo testo, e, oltre allo studio introduttivo, ne contiene l'edizione e la traduzione.

A prescindere dal caso particolare rappresentato dal grande processo del 1344 che vide condannati con l'accusa di Bogomilismo numerosi monaci tra il Monte Athos e Tessalonica¹, le poche attestazioni sul Bogomilismo del XIV secolo² presentano piccoli gruppi di eretici diffusi negli ambienti rurali: è il caso innanzitutto dei montanari del monte Papikion in Tracia, menzionati nel secondo decennio del secolo, che avevano ereditato dai loro antenati le credenze eretiche (τὰ Μαρκιανιστῶν ἡ Μασαλιανὸν ἄνωθεν ἐν προγόνων νοοῦντες)³ e dei paesani contemporanei di un villaggio della stessa area, Bokovikos (Μποκοβίκος = Bukovik) nella valle della Marica vicino a Bêra, senz'altro contadini, ma occasionalmente dediti al brigantaggio⁴. In entrambe le circostanze ci troviamo

¹ Cf. A. RIGO, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili. Le accuse di Messalianismo e Bogomilismo rivolte agli esicasti ed il problema dei rapporti tra Esicismo e Bogomilismo*, Firenze 1989 (*Orientalia Venetiana*, 2), pp. 135-275.

² Cf. A. RIGO, *Il Bogomilismo bizantino in età paleologa (XIII-XV secolo). Fonti e problemi*, in *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 32 (1996), pp. 627-641.

³ FIOTEΟ KOKKINOS, *Encomio di Gregorio Palamas*, 14-15; D.G. TSAMIS, *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἀγιολογικά ἔργα*, Thessaloniki 1985 (*Θεοσαλονικεῖς βυζαντινοὶ συγγραφεῖς*, 4), pp. 442-445.

⁴ Cf. i due documenti del Sinodo di Costantinopoli del 1316 e del 1330: H. HUNGER - O. KRESTEN, *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, I, Wien 1981 (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, 19/I), nrr. 42, 101, pp. 298-302, 568-578.

dinanzi a sparuti gruppi di eretici diffusi nelle campagne, piccole comunità chiuse che conservavano di generazione in generazione la fede avita. Questi contadini della Tracia non possono non ricordare le cerchie rurali, nelle quali operava il prete Giovanni Tzurillas, maestro dei Fundagiati dell'Asia Minore dell'XI secolo, ma anche, per analogia, l'ambiente sociale in cui si muove il Catarismo occitano del '300.

L'ultima fonte conosciuta dagli studiosi sull'eresia dualistica a Bisanzio risale ai primi decenni del XV secolo. Iniziamo la nostra analisi da qui.

Simeone arcivescovo di Tessalonica († settembre 1429)⁵, nel suo *Dialogo contro le eresie*, affronta la questione di quale sia la più nefanda tra le eresie e a questo proposito parla dei Koudougheroi. A suo dire, la peggiore, che è esposta in un capitolo speciale (intitolato Κατὰ Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου, καὶ Μάνεντος καὶ τῶν ὄμοιών, καὶ κατὰ τῶν δυσσεβῶν Βογομύλων, ἦτοι Κουδουνέρων)⁶, è rappresentata infatti da coloro che credono in due principi (οἵτινες καὶ ἀθέως δύο ἀρχὰς ἐδογμάτιζον): «di questi ancora oggi (καὶ νῦν) esistono i Bogomili, omiciattoli empi (ἀνθρώπια δυσσεβῆ), che sono anche chiamati Koudougheroi (οἱ καὶ Κουδούγεροι καλούμενοι). Però anche voi dovete essere informati su di loro, perché dimorano nei paraggi (ώς καὶ πλησίον ὅντων τῇ κατοικίᾳ)». Il loro comportamento è basato sulla dissimulazione: fingono di pregare e di accettare il Nuovo Testamento, ma di nascosto praticano «entusiasmi», preghiere e incantesimi (ἐνθουσιασμούς τινας καὶ προσευχὰς ἐν κρυπτᾷ καὶ ἐπῳδάς). Rigettano il battesimo, la comunione, la croce, le icone, le chiese, l'Antico Testamento e il culto dei santi. Hanno come unica preghiera il «Padre nostro», perché insegnata da Gesù Cristo. Vedono «fantasie demoniache» (φαντασίας δὲ δρῶσι τινας δαιμονίων) e in modo pagano (ἔλληνικῶς) venerano il diavolo, che chiamano con termine barbaro Topakas della terra (Τόπακα γῆς βαρβάρῳ φωνῇ τουτέστιν ἔνοικον ἡ ἀρχοντα τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ σκότους καλοῦσι). L'arcivescovo conclude raccomandando agli ortodossi di stare in guardia perché gli eretici hanno traviato molti, soprattutto in punto di morte, conducendoli a rinnegare la fede (καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ τέλειν [...] καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποκόποντες κατὰ γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ τέλους πρὸς ἄρνησιν ἐκκαλοῦνται)⁷.

⁵ Notizia in PLP 27057.

⁶ *Dialogus contra haereses*, II: PG 155, coll. 65C-73C.

⁷ Simeone accenna di nuovo ai Bogomili in un capitolo successivo (18: *ibid.*, coll. 89D-92A) quando ricorda che gli unici iconoclasti del presente sono per l'appunto gli eretici Bogomili (Σήμερον οὖν ἐν χριστιανοῖς λεγομένοις αἱρετικοῖς εἰκονομάχοιντες οὐκ εἰσίν, εἰ μὴ ἡ τῶν δυσσεβῶν Βογομύλων μαρὰ συμμορία).

Da queste scarse notizie possiamo per il momento ricavare alcuni elementi significativi: secondo Simeone, i Koudougheroi sono i Bogomili, presenti vicino a Tessalonica, in Macedonia. Le dottrine e le pratiche delineate ripropongono, sia pure in forma schematica, il quadro già offerto dalle opere eresiologiche più antiche sul Bogomilismo.

Sui Koudougheroiabbiamo poi alcune menzioni nel corso del periodo successivo. Il patriarca costantinopolitano Gennadio Scholarios⁸ con una lettera a Massimo Sophianos e a tutti i monaci del Sinai del 5 febbraio 1455, rispondeva a una serie di quesiti d'ordine canonico-disciplinare che gli erano stati posti dai suoi corrispondenti⁹. Tra l'altro, vi possiamo leggere:

Il vescovo <proveniente> dalla Bosnia è ortodosso: infatti è serbo. E come fecero alcuni maestri latini, quando si recarono nell'altra parte della Bosnia e là ricondussero molti Koudougheroi (Κουδούγεοι) all'ubbidienza della Chiesa Romana, così egli ha cercato, nell'altra parte della Bosnia, di far diventare cristiani ortodossi, nella nostra Chiesa, il signore *cherzek*¹⁰ e quanti altri gli era possibile. Volesse il cielo che anche alcuni dei nostri facessero ciò! (...) Ma è chiaro che quel signore non si separa completamente dai Koudougheroi (Κουδούγεοι) per timore <di perdere> il potere e fa uso di economia per persuadere gli altri con l'aiuto del vescovo e grazie a questo artifizio. È cristiano da poco tempo; per questo motivo elargisce elemosine ai cristiani. Se non fosse cristiano non sprecerebbe invano le sue ricchezze¹¹.

Dal momento che sappiamo che il signore di cui parla Gennadio è il principe dell'Erzegovina Stefano Vukčić Kosača (1448-1466)¹², il termine Koudougheroi sta qui a indicare i «Cristiani» bosniaci.

⁸ Sul quale cf. F. TINNEFELD, *Georgios Gennadios Scholarios*, in *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, II, sous la direction de C.G. CONTICELLO - V. CONTICELLO, Turnhout 2002, pp. 477-541; M.-H. BLANCHET, *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 2008.

⁹ L. PETIT - A. SIDERIDÈS - M. JUGIE, *Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios*, IV, Paris 1935, pp. 198-206.

¹⁰ Χερτζέκ = «chercek» (herceg) latino, cf. N. IORGA, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades*, II, Paris 1899, p. 444.

¹¹ PETIT - SIDERIDÈS - JUGIE, *Oeuvres* cit., pp. 200, l. 12-201, l. 9.

¹² Cf. F. KAMPFER, *Kosače*, in *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, II, München 1976, pp. 485-486; J.V.A. FINE, *The Bosnian Church: a New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and Its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries*, New York-London 1975 (East European Monographs, 10), p. 445 s.v. Stefan Vukčić.

Sulla stessa linea di Scholarios è anche Laonico Calcocondila († *post* 1463)¹³, quando nella sua opera storica ricorda che «*Koudougheroi* sono chiamati tutti gli abitanti del paese di Sandalj» (*Κουδούγεροι δ' ὄνομάζονται σύμπαντες οἱ εἰς τὴν Σανδάλεω χῶραν τελοῦντες*)¹⁴. Il personaggio menzionato è Sandalj Hranić Kosača, il cui regno segna l'inizio del predominio della famiglia Kosača in Erzegovina (dal 1416 in poi), e i *Koudougheroi* sono sempre i «Cristiani» bosniaci.

Manuele grande retore della Grande Chiesa¹⁵ nella risposta al domenicano (italiano?) Francesco del 1523¹⁶, menzionava incidentalmente «i cosiddetti stauropati, che comunemente sono chiamati *Koutougheroi*» (*κατὰ τοὺς λεγομένους σταυροπάτας, οἵτινες Κουτούγεροι ἐπονομάζονται κοινῶς*)¹⁷.

Il termine ricompare in alcuni testi ancora più tardi. Così la *Cronaca dei sultani turchi* redatta alla fine del XVI secolo¹⁸ riecheggia il già citato passo di Laonico Calcocondila quando parla dei *Koutougheroi* (*Κουτούγεροι*)¹⁹.

Un esplicito rimando allo storico bizantino è presente nell'opera di Mauro Orbini (1601): «Entrato che fù adunque Stefano nel dominio, mutò il cognome di Hranich in Cossacia (...) Et al suo stato altresì diede un altro nuovo nome, chiamandolo Ducato di Santo Sabba, che prima

¹³ Cf. *PLP* 30512.

¹⁴ V.E. DARKÓ, *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum Demonstrationes*, II, Budapest 1927, p. 27, ll. 4-5.

¹⁵ Sul quale cf. *PLP* 16712; G. PODSKALSKY, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkeneherrschaft*, München 1988, pp. 87-88.

¹⁶ M. GEDEON, *Μανονῆλ ὁ μέγας ὥγτωρ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, φρὰ Φραντζέσκῳ τῷ περδικατόῳ ἐκ παλαιᾶς Ρώμης χαίρειν*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια* 9 (1888/1889), pp. 237-240; per i manoscritti cf. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Μανονῆλ ὁ Κορίνθιος καὶ ἐν ὑμνογραφικὸν αὐτὸν πονημάτιον*, in *Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Παρνασσός. Ἐπετηρίς* 6 (1902), pp. 80-81. La data della risposta è indicata alla fine del testo in *Vind. Hist. gr.* 36, ff. 5r-6v, cf. H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I: *Codices historici. Codices philosophici et philologici*, Wien 1961, p. 39; Ch.G. PATRINELIS, *Oἱ μεγάλοι ὥγτορες Μανονῆλ Κορίνθιος, Ἀντώνιος, Μανονῆλ Γάλρωτης καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἀσκῆσης των*, in *Δελτίον τῆς Ιονιολικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 16 (1962), p. 24. Per il domenicano Francesco da correggere pertanto la data proposta in T. KAEPPELI, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, I, Roma 1970, p. 384.

¹⁷ GEDEON, *Μανονῆλ ὁ μέγας ὥγτωρ* cit., p. 239, ll. 19-20.

¹⁸ Cf. E.M. JEFFREYS - A. KAZHDAN, *Chronicle of the Turkish sultans*, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. KAZHDAN (et al.), I, New York-Oxford 1991, p. 446.

¹⁹ Μέσα εἰς τὴν Μπόσινα ἤτονε καὶ ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ ἀφεντός τοῦ Στεφάνου Σάνταλου καὶ κάμπουσιν φωμέτκα, τοὺς δποίους τούσε κράζουντε *Κουτούγέρους*; G. ZORAS, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων σουλτάνων*, Athina 1958, p. 64, ll. 33-35. Si veda anche il passo parallelo di FRANCESCO SANSONINO, *Gli annali turcheschi ovvero vite de principi della casa ottomana*, Venezia 1573, p. 75 sulla Bosnia: «A questo paese è contermine la regione di Stefano, figliuolo di Sandalo, gente anco essa non punto differente da quella della Bossina. Bene è vero che hanno altre leggi, & si chiamano Cuduergi».

gli abitatori di questi luoghi (come scrive Laonico Calcondila al 5. Lib.) chiameronsi Cuduergi»²⁰.

Qualche anno dopo G. Luccari (1604) sembra riprendere il suo immediato predecessore: «(...) Chelmo, chiamato Chuduergia, & hoggi lo chiamano Ducato di Santo Sabba, dalla sepoltura che vi si trova di questo santo, sepolto in quel luoco, altri lo domandano Hercegovina»²¹.

Sia Orbini che Luccari non forniscono informazioni nuove, ma dipendono, in ultima analisi, da Calcocondila²².

L'ultima testimonianza sul Bogomilismo bizantino, rappresentata dal titolo sui Koudougheroi di Simeone di Tessalonica, e le attestazioni di questi ultimi in alcuni testi più tardi in riferimento alla Bosnia sono state utilizzate dagli studiosi per parlare della persistenza dell'eresia dualistica tra Bisanzio e la Bosnia al momento della conquista ottomana dei Balcani e all'inizio dell'islamizzazione²³. Un nuovo testo, risalente alla metà del XIV secolo, fornisce nuovi elementi e apre così altre prospettive sulla storia del dualismo a Bisanzio e sui «misteriosi» Koudougheroi.

Il manoscritto *Oxford Christ Church 49*²⁴ è di provenienza epirota (Ioannina) ed è stato acquistato verso il 1735 da William Wake, arcivescovo di Canterbury. Il codice è un convoluto, contenente materiale vario, per lo più risalente al XVI e XVII secolo (ricordiamo così le lettere dello ieromonaco Metrofane e del monaco Nifone, f. 5r, l'epistola canonica del patriarca Kyrillos Loukaris copiata dall'edizione del 1658, ff. 101r-107v). La raccolta è stata organizzata in questa forma (come si evince tra l'altro anche dalla rilegatura) tra la fine del XVII e gli inizi del XVIII secolo a Ioannina²⁵.

Le sezioni più antiche del manoscritto sono del XIV-XV secolo. Tra queste va segnalata una copia della *Cronaca di Ioannina* (ff. 251r-271r), con alcune notizie supplementari, vergata verso il 1420²⁶. In due quaderni,

²⁰ *Il Regno degli Slavi, hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni*, Pesaro 1601, p. 382.

²¹ *Copioso ristretto de gli Annali di Rausa*, Venezia 1604, p. 7.

²² Cf. N. RADOJČIĆ, *O zemljji i imenima Bogomila*, in *Prilozi P. Popovića* 7 (1927), pp. 147-159: 148; più in generale si veda F. BARIŠIĆ, *Vizantijski izvori u dalmatinskoj istoriografiji XVI i XVII veka*, in *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 7 (1961), pp. 234-236.

²³ Cf. ad esempio M. LOOS, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Praha 1971, pp. 321, 333; D. ANGELOV, *Il Bogomilismo. Un'eresia medievale bulgara*, Roma 1979, pp. 506-507.

²⁴ Sul quale si vedano la descrizione di G.W. KITCHIN, *Catalogus codicium mss. qui in Bibliotheca Aedis Christi apud Oxonienses adservantur*, Oxford 1867, pp. 24-25, e quella di Th. GAISFORD (1837) posta all'inizio del codice.

²⁵ Cf. I. HUTTER, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, IV/1: *Textband*, Stuttgart 1993, pp. xxx, xxxv n. 53, xxxviii.

²⁶ *Cronaca di Ioannina*, §§ 1-41, ed. Bonn, pp. 209-238, l. 5; L.I. VRANOÜSSIS, *Tò*

copiati da una mano databile attorno al 1360, è conservata la *Discussione che <io> Giovanni Hamartolos ho tenuto anni prima con il capo dei Koudougheroi* (Διάλεξις ἦν πρὸ χρόνων ἐποίησα μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Κουδουγέων Ἰωάννης Ἀμαρτωλός) (ff. 135r-148v). L'ultimo foglio (f. 149r-v) è bianco con prove di penna e un disegno raffigurante re David. Un esame del testo mostra fin da subito che ci troviamo dinanzi all'autografo dell'autore, che è ripetutamente intervenuto con correzioni, aggiunte e integrazioni anche nei margini dei fogli. Giovanni Hamartolos, quasi certamente un monaco fornito di una certa cultura teologica, è al momento attuale un perfetto sconosciuto²⁷ e non ci è stato possibile identificarlo con personaggi contemporanei già noti. Gli unici elementi in nostro possesso sono forniti dal manoscritto e dall'opera. La datazione del codice e il fatto che, come vedremo, Simeone di Tessalonica abbia utilizzato per il suo *Dialogo contro le eresie* l'opera di Giovanni Hamartolos mostra che quest'ultimo era attivo nel terzo quarto del XIV secolo. Dal momento che egli afferma, nel titolo della sua *Dialectis*, di aver discusso «anni prima» (πρὸ χρόνων) con il capo dei Koudougheroi, il suo incontro con gli eretici va collocato verso la metà del XIV secolo. La provenienza epirota del codice non significa evidentemente che tutti i materiali vengano dalla regione, e soprattutto quelli più antichi (anche se il caso della *Cronaca di Ioannina* è da sottolineare). Non sappiamo perciò se Giovanni Hamartolos fosse attivo in Epiro. L'utilizzo della sua opera da parte di Simeone a Tessalonica sembra comunque condurci, più in generale, nelle regioni settentrionali della Grecia, e in primo luogo in Macedonia.

L'opera di Giovanni è un dialogo tra un ortodosso (indicato come

Χρονικὸν τῶν Ἰωαννίνων κατ’ ἀνέκδοτον δημώδη ἐπιτομήν, in *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαωνικοῦ Αρχείου* 12 (1962) [ma 1965], pp. 74-101, con lacuna tra f. 266v (§ 25, l. 2 μηνὶ μαΐῳ ε': ed. Bonn, p. 228, l. 17; VRANOSSIS, *Tὸ Χρονικόν* cit., p. 92) e 267r (§ 34, l. 16 καὶ τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας: ed. Bonn, p. 234, l. 6; VRANOSSIS, *Tὸ Χρονικόν* cit., p. 97) per la caduta di tre fogli all'inizio del terzo quaderno (primi due quaderni: ff. 251-258, 259-266 [β' sul margine superiore di f. 259r]). Nei ff. 269r-271r i-xiv notizie supplementari per gli anni 1402-1417/1418. Notizia xv per l'anno 1442 tracciata successivamente da un'altra mano. In merito cf. L.I. VRANOSSIS, *Τοποικὰ καὶ τοπογραφικὰ τοῦ μεσαωνικοῦ κάστρου τῶν Ἰωαννίνων*, Athina 1968, pp. 25, 44, 78; P. SCHREINER, *To αρχαιότερο χειρόγραφο του Χρονικού των Ιωαννίνων*, in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου* (Άρτα, 27-31 Μαΐου 1990), a cura di E. CHRYSOS, Arta 1992, pp. 47-51.

²⁷ C'è da chiedersi innanzitutto se Hamartolos sia un cognome, all'epoca peraltro attestato (*PLP* 758-760), o un epiteto indicante l'estrazione monastica di Giovanni. La sua appartenenza al monachesimo emerge con chiarezza da alcuni passaggi, in particolare quello sulla definizione della preghiera (244-246) e le parole sulla vita angelica di coloro che vivono nella solitudine (264-266).

$\chiριστιανός$), l'autore stesso, e il capo ($\piρῶτος$) degli eretici (indicato come $\chiουδούγερος$). Dal punto di vista quantitativo, lo spazio maggiore è occupato nella *Dialectis* dalle argomentazioni dell'ortodosso, mentre le repliche dell'eretico sono molto più brevi. Quest'opera ripropone evidentemente una forma letteraria ben conosciuta della controversistica religiosa, della quale la letteratura eresiologica bizantina ci fornisce buoni esempi per i Manichei, i Musulmani e gli Ebrei. Per quanto riguarda le eresie di stampo dualistico, soltanto un dialogo antibogomilo del patriarca Germano II nella prima metà del XIII secolo²⁸ costituisce un precedente dell'opera di Giovanni Hamartolos. Un buon numero di queste composizioni controversistiche non sono certo i resoconti fedeli di discussioni realmente avvenute: la forma dialogica è soltanto una scelta d'ordine retorico e letterario. In alcuni di questi dialoghi sono però isolabili, al di là della *vis polemica* e dell'erudizione eresiologica, alcuni passaggi che forniscono informazioni di prima mano e sembrano rimandare a incontri effettivi tra ortodossi ed eretici o membri di altre religioni. A questo secondo gruppo appartiene la *Dialectis* di Giovanni Hamartolos. Gran parte del testo deriva dalla sua cultura teologica e in primo luogo dalle sue letture eresiologiche, ma, come vedremo, c'è anche altro. Giovanni Hamartolos utilizza in maniera massiccia il titolo sui Bogomili della *Panoplia dogmatica* di Eutimio Zigabeno, assimilando i suoi interlocutori Koudougheroi a quella eresia: egli così evoca la condanna di Basilio durante il regno di Alessio I Comneno, e le diverse dottrine e pratiche bogomile esposte da Zigabeno (croce, Scritture, battesimo, comunione, icone, digiuni, preghiere). Va sottolineato che la rilettura eresiologica operata da Giovanni suscita la reazione del suo interlocutore che candidamente afferma, dopo aver ascoltato dalla bocca di Giovanni il racconto tratto da Eutimio, di non aver mai saputo niente di simile (55).

La rilettura eresiologica effettuata dall'autore della *Dialectis* emerge altresì dai nomi utilizzati per indicare i suoi interlocutori. Mentre costoro (che sembrano così riecheggiare i Bogomili tra XI e XII secolo, i Catari e altri gruppi) si denominavano cristiani (20), perché ispirati dall'insegnamento apostolico (14) e dall'alto (41), Giovanni li assimilava in forma implicita (senza farne il nome!), ma inequivocabile al Bogomilismo, rimandando alle eresie che, secondo gli autori bizantini²⁹, ne erano all'o-

²⁸ Cf. A. RIGO, *Il patriarca Germano II (1223-1240) e i Bogomili*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993), p. 93.

²⁹ Cf. A. RIGO, *Messalianismo = Bogomilismo. Un'equazione dell'eresiologia medievale bizantina*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 56 (1990), pp. 53-82.

rigine, il Messalianismo e il Manicheismo: «Siete un pollone dell'eresia dei Pauliciani e dei Messaliani e dei Manichei» (44-45). In questa linea, deve anche essere menzionato l'appellativo, a prima vista curioso, di Koukoubrikoi (Κουκούβρικοι) (311). Il termine deriva evidentemente dal Koubrikos, discepolo di Mani, ricordato nella letteratura eresiologica sul Manicheismo e il Paulicianismo³⁰.

Gli interlocutori di Giovanni Hamartolos sono per lo più indicati nel testo con il nome di Koudougheroi.

Sulla base delle fonti sino a oggi conosciute, il capitolo di Simeone di Tessalonica e le altre opere del XV e XVI secolo, gli studiosi avevano formulato diverse ipotesi sul significato e l'etimologia del termine Kou-dougheroi e sull'identità degli eretici in questione.

Nektarios patriarca di Gerusalemme pubblicava nel 1677 la lettera di Gennadio Scholarios ai monaci del Sinai che menziona i Koudougheroi (qui Κουνδούγεοι)³¹. Nella quarta parte dell'opera, dove utilizzava Paolo Giovio e altri testi sulla storia orientale³², parlava dei Drusi (ἡ Αἴρεσις ὅπου λέγεται Ντρουζίδες). Nell'indice egli identificava poi i Koudougheroi e i Drusi: Αἴρεσις τῶν Τρούσιδων [sic], τῶν καὶ Κουνδούγεον.

In un'epoca più vicina a noi I. Golubinskij (1871) e A. Solovjev (1952) hanno accettato tale identificazione, ricordando che i Drusi siriani nel X secolo avevano accolto nelle loro file molti Manichei³³. Le notizie disponibili sulle origini dei Drusi nell'XI secolo (le loro ascendenze

³⁰ Cf. formula lunga antimaniche: A. ADAM, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Berlin 1954 (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen, 175), p. 97; si veda anche la *Suda*, *ibid.*, p. 79; dossier sui Pauliciani: Ch. ASTRUC - W. CONUS-WOLSKA - J. GOUILARD - P. LEMERLE - D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU - J. PARAMELLE, *Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 4 (1970), p. 218 s.v. Κούβρικος; formula antibogomila: P. ELEUTERI - A. RIGO, *Eretici, dissidenti, Musulmani ed Ebrei a Bisanzio. Una raccolta eresiologica del XII secolo*, Venezia 1993, p. 140 (nr. 7). Da osservare che EUTIMIO DELLA PERIBLEPTOS, *Epistola invettiva*: G. FICKER, *Die Phundagiagiten. Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1908, p. 42 l. 9 app. presenta la forma Κούβουκριος prima di una serie di *Spottnamen* (?) (Κουνδούγηται, Ορθοπευχήται, Κατευχήται, Κοπόται: *ibid.*, ll. 17-19), ma anche quella Κούρβικος (*ibid.*, l. 9). Per Koubrikos si veda anche J. TUBACH, *Die Namen von Manis Jüngern und ihre Herkunft*, in *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi «Manicheismo e Oriente Cristiano Antico»*, a cura di L. CIRILLO - A. VAN TANGERLOO, Louvain-Napoli 1997, pp. 375-393.

³¹ Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς ἱεροκοσμικῆς ἴστορίας, Venezia 1677, ed. utilizzata Venezia 1801, pp. 215-221: 217.

³² Cf. M.I. MANOUSSAKAS, Ἡ Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς ἱεροκοσμικῆς ἴστορίας τοῦ Νεκταρίου καὶ αἱ πηγαὶ αὐτῆς, in *Konstuktaa zhivotika* 1 (1947), pp. 291-332.

³³ I. GOLUBINSKIJ, *Kratkij očerk istorii pravoslavnich cerkvej bolgarskoj, serbskoj i rominskoj*, Moskva 1871, pp. 592-593; A. SOLOVJEV, *Fundajajiti, Patarini i Kudugeri u vizantiskim izvorima*, in *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 1 (1952), pp. 133-134.

ismailite e una figura come quella di al-Hākim) rendono del tutto inverosimile questa ipotesi³⁴.

G. Ficker (1908) menzionava il termine Koudougheroi (rimandando a Simeone di Tessalonica) come uno dei diversi appellativi usati per indicare i Bogomili: «Ein noch seltsamerer Name für Bogomilen, den ich ebensowenig erklären kann»³⁵.

J. Ivanov (1925), ricordando l'appellativo, sosteneva che «les villages bulgares actuels, Kutugerci (rég. de Kustendil) et de Kotugeri (rég. de Voden) en sont des réminiscences». Poi menzionava i «torbeši» (= Φουνδαῖται), anch'essi appartenenti al Bogomilismo, quindi convertiti all'Islam. Osservava infine che questi ultimi vivevano sino all'età contemporanea nelle regioni di Tikves, Kicevo, Debar, Skopje, Sar Planina³⁶.

Per V. Skarić (1926) il termine Koudougheros indica l'odiatore della croce: in questo modo riproponeva di fatto le indicazioni degli eresilogi bizantini (Simeone di Tessalonica, Manuele il Retore)³⁷.

Qualche tempo dopo (1948) S. Runciman riprendeva gli argomenti di Ivanov (ma di fatto li capovolgeva): i Koudougheroi traggono il loro nome dalle località segnalate dallo studioso bulgaro, e più verosimilmente da Kotougeri³⁸.

In quello stesso anno D. Obolensky riprendeva le testimonianze di Simeone di Tessalonica e di Gennadio Scholarios e poi i toponimi indicati da Ivanov. Quest'ultimo elemento, a suo avviso, mostrava «that the Bogomil sect must have spread throughout the whole of Macedonia». In ogni caso, «the origin of the term Kudugheri is unknown». Egli ritenne improbabile l'ipotesi di Runciman «that the Kudugheri were so called "probably from the name of the village that was their centre". (...) The fact that the Kudugheri are attested both in Macedonia and in Bosnia suggests that this was not simply a "local name"»³⁹.

Poco tempo prima H.Ch. Puech (1945) aveva affermato che la denominazione Koudougheroi per Bogomili nelle opere di Simeone di Tessalonica e di Gennadio Scholarios è «tout à fait énigmatique»⁴⁰.

Diversi studiosi si sono invece soffermati sulle possibili etimologie del termine, proponendo molteplici soluzioni.

³⁴ Fondamentale innanzitutto N.M. ABU-IZZEDDIN, *The Druzes: a new study of their history, faith and society*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1993².

³⁵ FICKER, *Die Phundagiagiten* cit., p. 195 n. 1.

³⁶ J. IVANOV, *Livres et légendes bogomiles (Aux sources du Catharisme)*, Paris 1976 (Les littératures populaires de toutes les nations, n.s. xxii) [ed. orig. Sofija 1925], p. 63.

³⁷ V. SKARIĆ, *Kudugeri*, in *Prilozi* 6 (1926), pp. 107-110.

³⁸ S. RUNCIMAN, *The medieval Manichee*, Oxford 1948, pp. 97, 184.

³⁹ D. OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948, p. 166.

⁴⁰ H.Ch. PUECH - A. VAILLANT, *Le traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre*, Paris 1945, p. 282.

Secondo P. Skok (1935), che si basava su Calcocondila e Gennadio Scholarios (in traduzione serba), la parola Koudougheroi deriva dal greco (demotico) κουτός = sciocco, stupido. L'appellativo κουτούγερος è così l'opposto della parola καλόγερος/καλόγηρος (per la quale cf. E.G. KRIARAS, Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημώδους γραμματείας, Thessaloniki 1969, s.v. καλόγηρος), con la quale si indica il monaco. Egli aggiungeva poi che la parola può essere una semplice corruzione del termine *kalogheros*⁴¹. Quest'ultima ipotesi è stata recentemente ripresa in modo indipendente (con un semplice rimando a M. Miletic) da M. Loos (1971), che così affermava: «*koudougheros* derives without doubt from corruption of the word *kalogeros*»⁴².

A. Frolov (1949)⁴³, partendo da un termine (*koudai*) che compare nel *typikon* del monastero costantinopolitano del Cristo Pantocrator (1136), evocava i Koudougheroi. Dopo aver rigettato l'ipotesi di S. Runciman ed essere ritornato alla formulazione di J. Ivanov, proponeva due diverse etimologie. La prima parte della parola Koudougheroi deriverebbe da κούδη/κουδά = latino *cauda* (coda)⁴⁴. Egli ricordava anche la parola greca κουτζός e la russa *убогий*, con il significato di «ammalato», «povero» (in verità κουτζός/κουτσός corrisponde a «zoppo» e *убогий* a «povero» o, al limite, «vile», «di poco prezzo»).

Quasi contemporaneamente, D. Angelov (1949/1950) osservava che l'appellativo Koudougheroi, per indicare i Bogomili, è molto diffuso nel XV secolo ed era utilizzato in area slava: «für dessen langes Bestehen in Makedonien zeugen die heutigen Ortsnamen Kutugeri und Kutugerci

⁴¹ P. SKOK, *Bogomili u svjetlosti lingvistike*, in *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 1 (1935), pp. 462-472, qui p. 467 n. II.

⁴² LOOS, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* cit., p. 333. In questo senso anche J. HAMILTON - B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650-c. 1450*, Manchester-New York 1998, pp. 55, 286 n. 2 che aggiungevano: il termine «resembles the phrase “bonshommes” used in thirteenth-century Languedoc to describe the Cathar perfect».

⁴³ A. FROLOW, *Les noms de monnaies dans le typikon du Pantocrator*, in *Byzantino-slavica* 10 (1949), pp. 249-250.

⁴⁴ Il termine κούδα (dall'italiano *coda*) è attestato nei portolani e nelle cronache brevi, cf. KRIARAS, *Λεξικό* cit., s.v. Frolov osservava che con la parola presente nel *typikon* del Pantocrator «on aurait pu désigner ainsi les huit orphelins et les quatres femmes chargés, entre autre, de la surveillance des icônes du Pantocrator (...). Leur troupe devait former comme une queue derrière la procession». Indicazioni riprese, sia pur in forma dubitativa, ancora di recente, cf. J. THOMAS - A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO, *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, V, Washington, D.C. 2000 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 35), p. 1684 s.v. *koudai*: «Unidentified participants in a religious procession, probably the “rear-guards” (?) (from Italian, *coda*)». P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du Christ Sauver Pantocrator*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 32 (1974), p. 82 n. 21 aveva invece laconicamente puntualizzato: «*koudai* terme inconnu; l'explication tentée par Frolov n'est pas satisfaisante».

(zwei Dörfer in der Nähe der Städten Vodena und Küstendil). Con ogni probabilità Koudougheroi era «ein Spottname (...) und zwar als Gegenüberstellung zu καλόγεοι. (...) Das Wort war vielleicht zuerst unter der griechischen Bevölkerung entstanden und lautete ursprünglich wohl κοντόγεοι d. h. kleine, unbedeutende Leute in Gegensatz zu den frommen, guten καλόγεοι. Es ist aber schwer zu erklären, wie aus κοντόγεοι die Form κουδούγεοι entstanden ist» (egli faceva quindi i seguenti esempi: κοντός, κοντοπούλος, κοντοδούκος, κοντίκλον, κοντοίωάννης). Alla formazione della parola κουδούγεοι hanno probabilmente concorso «fremde Elemente»: Angelov pensava a un influsso slavo. Così da κοντόγεοι «wahrscheinlich durch Volksetymologie» è nata la parola κουδούγεοι, che conserva ancora tracce di forme e significati slavi [proponeva quali esempi κούδити = μέμφεσθαι, κατηγορεῖν, καθυβρίζειν; κούδитель; κούдесъ (magus); κούдеси (artes magicae); κούдъ (incantatio), ecc.]. Nonostante le evidenti difficoltà di un'argomentazione tanto faticosa, Angelov aggiungeva altre considerazioni: «Es wäre noch zu erklären warum das Wort *kudugeri* und nicht *kudigeri* lautet, wie aus dem Wort *kuditel* zu erwarten wäre. Das ist sicher nach Analogie des *u* in dem Wort *kalugeri*, das noch bis heute (...) in Gebrauch ist. Vielleicht war auch das Wort κοντόγεοι zuerst κοντούγεοι geworden, bevor es sich in die neue Form κουδούγεοι entwickelte»⁴⁵.

M. Miletic (1957)⁴⁶, oltre a riprendere gran parte delle ipotesi fatte in precedenza, proponeva un'ulteriore soluzione: il termine Koudougheroi deriverebbe dal latino *cutiger*, parola composta da *cutis* e *ger* («portatore di borsa»). Il significato di borsa per *cutis* è ricavato dalla forma *kutys* (veterolituana), *cud* (cimbria) (sulla base di A. WALDE, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Heidelberg 1838, p. 320). Questo significato permetteva alla studiosa di avvicinare i Koudougheroi ai Bogomili bulgari, torbeši (da torba = borsa), e ai «Bogomili» d'Asia Minore, chiamati Φουνδαῖται ο Φουνδᾶται = portatori di borsa (φούνδα). Ma anche quest'ultima fantasiosa etimologia è perlomeno dubbia, se non errata (Φουνδᾶται deriva infatti semmai dal nome Φουνδᾶς, variante di Βουνδᾶς [Buddha]). La Miletic ricordava infine il termine *cuturgia* = *domus pauperum* (cf. L. DIEFENBACH, *Glossarium latino-germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis*, Francoforte ad Moenum 1857, p. 165; Ch. DU CANTE - L. FAVRE, *Glossaire français faisant suite au Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, II, Niort 1879, p. 605), perché, a suo dire, «sembra aver conservato il ricordo di questi kutugeri». Collegava quindi *cuturgia* alle espres-

⁴⁵ D. ANGELOV, *Der Bogomilismus auf dem Gebiete des byzantinischen Reiches: Geschichte*, in *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia* 46/2 (1949/1950), p. 43 n. 153; indicazioni riprese anche dal *B'lgarski etimologičen rečnik*, III, Sofija 1986, s.v. Kudugeri.

⁴⁶ M. MILETIĆ, *I «Krstjani» di Bosnia alla luce dei loro monumenti di pietra*, Roma 1957 (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 149), pp. 82-93.

sioni utilizzate da Orbini e Luccari per la Bosnia e i suoi abitanti (Chuduergia, Cuduergi), non tenendo conto che la loro fonte era uno storico bizantino (Laonico Calcocondila), che parlava di Koudougheroi.

Più di recente, J.V.A. Fine (1975)⁴⁷ ha formulato una diversa ipotesi. Egli ricorda innanzitutto il capitolo di Simeone di Tessalonica, nel quale «the term Kuduger was simply another name for a Bogomil». Nella lettera ai monaci del Sinai, «it is likely that Gemnadius is referring to the Bosnian Church when he says “Kuduger”». Infatti in questo autore, come in Laonico Calcocondila, il termine Koudougheroi equivale a «Bosnians»⁴⁸. Gennadio Scholarios, e Calcocondila, hanno probabilmente sostituito una parola occidentale (come per esempio Patarini) che indicava i dualisti con «the term Kuduger which may still have been in use in the Greek world». Ma, a detta di Fine, esiste un'altra possibilità. «Laonikos used the term in such a general context that is need not have referred to a religious group at all. In Turkish the term “güdücü” is (...) attested in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, means shepherd⁴⁹. The main occupation of the population of Hercegovina was of course raising sheep. This may well have been what Laonikos had in mind when he described the inhabitants of Hercegovina as Koudougeroi»⁵⁰.

Al di fuori degli studi sulle sette dualistiche, E. Kriaras, nel suo lessico del greco demotico (*Λεξικό* cit., X, suppl., s.v. Κοντούγεοι), basandosi sulle parole di Laonico Calcocondila, e ignorando i passi di Simeone di Tessalonica, Gennadio Scholarios e Manuele il Retore, scriveva che si tratta del nome di un popolo illirico (ονομασία λαού Ἰλλιρικού), e rimandava al repertorio di G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin-Leiden

⁴⁷ FINE, *The Bosnian Church: a New Interpretation* cit., pp. 324-326; si veda anche ID., *Mid-Fifteenth Century Sources on the Bosnian Church. Their Problems and Significance*, in *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 12 (1984), p. 26.

⁴⁸ In questo senso anche F. SANJEK, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques et le mouvement cathare (XII^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris-Louvain 1976 (Publications de la Sorbonne, n.s., Recherches, 20), p. 63 n. 122: «Les sources grecques donnent aux hérétiques de Hum (Herzégovine) le nom de “Koutouguéros” [sic]»; RIGO, *Il Bogomilismo bizantino in età paleologa (XIII-XV secolo)* cit., p. 634.

⁴⁹ E rimandava a *Türk Dil Kurumu, Türkiye Türkçesinin Tarihi Sözlüğü Hazırlıklarından XIII. Asırdan Günümüze kadar kitaplardan Toplanmış Tanıklarıyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, I, İstanbul 1943, p. 336; II, İstanbul 1945, p. 472; e si veda anche *Türk Dil Kurumu Yayıları-Sayı: 211/6. Türkiye' de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü*, VI, Ankara 1972, s.v. güden (I), güdü (II e VI); *Türk Dil Kurumu Yayıları-Sayı: 212. XIII Yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle Yazılmış Kitaplardan Toplanan Tanıklarıyla. Tarama Sözlüğü*, III, Ankara 1967, s.v. güden.

⁵⁰ J.V.A. Fine ricordava poi una seconda parola turca simile: nel defter del 1515 il mahala Nedžar Ibrahim a Sarajevo è chiamato «Kurudger», ma «unfortunately the significance of the name is not known». Niente di nuovo nel recente contributo di M.M. PETROVIĆ, *Kudugeri – Bogomili u vizantijskim i srpskim izvorima i «Crkva bosanska»*, Beograd 1998, in particolare pp. 13-41.

1983³, s.v. Κουτρίγοοι: «hunnisches Volk in der Nähe der Maiotis, später unter avarischen Herrschaft (VI. Jh.)»⁵¹.

Il termine Koudougheroi (Κουδούγεροι; la forma Κουτούγεροι è presente solo in Manuele il retore e nella tarda *Cronaca dei sultani turchi*) è utilizzato per la prima volta, da quanto ci risulta, da Giovanni Hamartolos per indicare i suoi interlocutori, che egli assimila agli eretici bogomili. L'epiteto entra però in circolazione soltanto grazie all'opera di Simeone di Tessalonica (il dialogo di Giovanni è infatti conservato in un'unica copia, l'autografo dell'autore...), nella quale Koudougheroi è un sinonimo di Bogomili. Sulla base di Simeone, la parola, che oramai indica l'eresia dualistica bizantina per antonomasia, è utilizzata per designare i «Cristiani» bosniaci. Siamo perciò di fronte a una serie di passaggi nell'utilizzo del nome, dei quali si deve essere ben consapevoli senza prendere l'ultimo termine delle equazioni eresiologiche come il vero significato della parola Koudougheroi.

Le diverse etimologie proposte, che fanno derivare la parola dal latino, dallo slavo o dal turco, non possono essere accettate per evidenti ragioni d'ordine storico e linguistico. La parola Koudougheroi è greca. La seconda parte, γέροι, non pone problemi e il suo significato è chiaro: «anziani», «vecchi». La prima parte, Κουδού-, può essere collegata alla parola κουτζός/κουτσός, «zoppo», «povero», per la quale conosciamo usi simili, o meglio a κουτός, «stupido», «sciocco», «fesso» (dal quale anche κουτοπόνηρος, κουτούλιακας, κουτούραδα). Si deve infatti pensare che Koudougheroi fosse un epiteto dispregiativo e ingiurioso con il quale il gruppo era indicato dall'autore ortodosso Giovanni Hamartolos (in opposizione ai «buoni vecchi», i kalogheroi, i monaci). Quindi Koudougheroi sta per «vecchi stupidi, sciocchi, imbecilli»: forma che ricorda una analoga, e con intenzioni simili, attestata in Tessaglia ed Epiro: Μπαμπούγεροι, Μπαμπούγεροι (anche Μπαμπαγιούροι)⁵².

⁵¹ Forme Κουτρίγουροι, Κουτρίγοοι, Κοτράγηροι, Κοτραγηροί. Il rinvio del lessico è dovuto evidentemente a un errore materiale. – Il *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, ed. E. TRAPP, Wien 1994–, s.v. Κουδούγεροι rimanda invece al passo di Simeone di Tessalonica e scrive, senza fornire ulteriori spiegazioni: «Name der Bogomilen».

⁵² Resta la possibilità che alcuni toponimi dell'area conservino il ricordo di questo appellativo: così il villaggio di Kutuger (attuale Kesariana) vicino a Pella e l'omonimo (odierna Halastra) a 20 km da Tessalonica sul delta dell'Axios. Da ricordare anche Kutugerci/Kutugertsı nella Bulgaria nordoccidentale. – Segnaliamo infine per completezza il nome del demone del mercoledì in alcuni trattati magici: κουντουγού/κουντογού/κυντογυρ, cf. *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum graecorum*, X, Bruxelles 1924, p. 43.

Dicevamo della rilettura eresiologica dei Koudougheroi effettuata da Giovanni Hamartolos sulla base del capitolo di Eutimio Zigabeno sui Bogomili, rilettura che emerge anche dalle denominazioni utilizzate per designare il gruppo. L'assimilazione al Bogomilismo, interessante per comprendere il «metodo» di lavoro del nostro autore, non deve però essere ripresa dallo studioso moderno, che deve piuttosto cercare di individuare la fisionomia propria del gruppo in questione, al di là della distorsione derivata dalla lente deformante dell'eresiologia. Una lettura attenta della *Dialectis* di Giovanni permette infatti di isolare alcuni tratti originali, irriducibili al Bogomilismo qual è tratteggiato nelle fonti bizantine e slave conosciute.

Iniziamo da alcuni passaggi nei quali si accenna, in modo ellittico, alla struttura e alla gerarchia dei Koudougheroi. Il gruppo è guidato da un capo (*πρῶτος*), che secondo il titolo dell'opera è l'interlocutore di Giovanni. Da un altro punto (314-318), sul quale ritorneremo, vediamo che la figura del *protos* aveva funzioni spirituali e rituali. Dopo di costui sono ricordati «quelli che chiamate catari e nonnetti» (*οὓς λέγετε καθαροὺς καὶ πάπτουδας*) (303-304), evidentemente membri della gerarchia, distinti dai semplici fedeli. Il termine «cataro» (*καθαρός*) è senz'altro evocativo nella storia dell'eresia cristiana d'Oriente⁵³ e d'Occidente d'epoca tardoantica e medievale, mentre la parola «nonnetto» (*πάπτος*) ricorda casi in qualche modo noti: da un lato Pietro di Cappadocia, menzionato dal *Synodik* di Boril in una serie di maestri bogomili, come «il *dediti* di Sardica»⁵⁴, dall'altro il *dqed* nella chiesa bosniaca e la figura del vecchio monaco e dell'anziano nelle comunità rurali⁵⁵. A questo ruolo degli anziani nella gerarchia rimanda evidentemente anche l'appellativo Koudougheroi. Questi elementi della struttura del gruppo appaiono tutto sommato chiari. Di contro, un altro passaggio della *Dialectis* ci presenta una realtà di difficile interpretazione: «Perché ognuno di voi ha una di quelle che chiamate monache bianche, e questa lo cura nelle sue necessità e non prova vergogna a raccontarlo» (*Ἐπειδὴ ἔκαστος ὑμῶν ἔχει μίαν ἀφ' ὧν λέγετε ἀσπροκαλογραιῶν καὶ θεραπεύει αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς χρείαν ἔχει καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε καὶ λέγειν αὐτό*) (293-295). Le parole di Giovanni Hamartolos prendono significato nel contesto più generale delle sue affermazioni. Egli accusa infatti i Koudougheroi di fin-

⁵³ Cf. J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XII^e siècle*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1965), pp. 310, 311.

⁵⁴ M.G. POPRUZENKO, *Sinodik carja Borila*, Sofia 1928 (Bulgarski Starini, 8), p. 68 (nr. 78).

⁵⁵ Sul significato del termine si vedano le osservazioni di FINE, *The Bosnian Church* cit., pp. 155-156.

gere l'astinenza e la castità, ma in verità, come molti altri eretici, di annoverare nelle loro file diverse donne. Chi fossero queste donne – chiamate dai Koudougheroi «monache bianche» (*ἀσπροκαλογραιαί*) –, che assistevano i membri della setta, non ci è dato di sapere⁵⁶.

L'utilizzo massiccio da parte di Giovanni Hamartolos del capitolo sui Bogomili di Eutimio Zigabeno riguarda soprattutto gli aspetti più «pratici» delle credenze eretiche, mentre è tralasciata completamente la dottrina centrale di stampo dualistico e il mito gnostico bogomilo a noi noto per l'appunto grazie al racconto dello Zigabeno (e all'apocrifa *Interrogatio Iohannis*). Nella *Dialexis* non è fatto nemmeno un cenno a dottrine dualistiche e alla figura di Satanaele. I passi riguardanti il diavolo e le credenze demonologiche ci conducono piuttosto in tutt'altra direzione e aprono interessanti prospettive.

Giovanni sostiene che i Koudougheroi venerano e pregano il diavolo, «che chiamate Topakas della terra» (Τόπακα τῆς γῆς) (242). Di lì a poco, in un lungo passaggio che ricalca la forma dei rituali di abiura, l'autore invita il suo interlocutore ad anatematizzare «il Topakas della terra» (τὸν Τόπακα τῆς γῆς) (303). Lo strano nome doveva essere difficile per Giovanni Hamartolos che, nel seguito, non lo ricorda e lascia perciò uno spazio bianco per trascriverlo in un secondo tempo (336). Simeone di Tessalonica si basava evidentemente sulle righe appena citate della *Dialexis*, quando ricordava che gli eretici venerano il diavolo, che chiamano con termine barbaro Topakas della terra (Τόπακα γῆς βαρβάρῳ φωνῇ)⁵⁷.

Il nome Topakas, che ha suscitato le perplessità e i dubbi degli studiosi moderni⁵⁸, si ritrova nei testi magici prima e nel folklore poi. In un

⁵⁶ A proposito di *ἀσπροκαλογραιά*, ricordiamo per completezza un termine simile, indicante la monaca (o il monaco) che ha rinnegato i voti (*ἀποκαλογραιά*), anche se per varie ragioni è impossibile che il primo sia una corruzione di quest'ultimo. Tra gli affreschi della chiesa della Theotokos Phorbiotissa di Asinou a Cipro (XIV secolo) c'è una raffigurazione dei dannati, tra i quali sono indicati anche «ὁ ἀποκαλόγεος» e «ἡ ἀποκαλογραιά» che posta sopra il fuoco riceve i baci del serpente, cf. K.P. CHATZIOANNOU, *Αἱ παραστάσεις τῶν κολαξμένων εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς τῆς Κύπρου*, in *Ἐπετηροὶ Έταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 23 (1953), p. 293; A. STYLIANOU - J.A. STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London 1997², pp. 114-140: 134-136.

⁵⁷ Citato *supra*, p. 100 e n. 6. Da osservare che l'espressione di Simeone, pur potendo essere soltanto dispregiativa, sembra ricordare i βάρβαρα ὄνόματα dei demoni (Giamblico); cf. anche, per Bisanzio, il *De daemonibus* dello pseudo-Psello: P. GAUTIER, *Le De daemonibus du Pseudo-Psellos*, in *Revue des études byzantines* 38 (1980), pp. 153 (ll. 285-286), 163 (l. 438).

⁵⁸ Da ultimi HAMILTON - HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine*

trattato di magia di tradizione salomonica, conservato in due manoscritti del XVI-XVII e XVIII secolo, ma contenente materiale più antico, figura dapprima una formula iniziale di scongiuro rivolta a una lunga lista di demoni legati a un luogo (*stoicheia*), nella quale compare Toparka (Τπαρκα), poi un filatterio capace di legare, tra l'altro, i toparchi (*τοπαρχας*) dei monti e dei precipizi⁵⁹. Il Topakas dei Koudougheri è pertanto un demone legato a un luogo specifico, «alla terra» secondo Giovanni Hamartolos. Nel folklore della Grecia moderna, come ci mostra il materiale raccolto dai laografi (Nikolaos Politis e gli altri), Topokas è ancora ricordato, come il demone del luogo, il guardiano protettore della casa dalle sembianze di serpente e con le corna d'oro, che muta ogni anno⁶⁰. Il «diavolo» dei Koudougheroi non è pertanto Satanaele, né Satana come scrive Giovanni, ma un demone protettore dei luoghi e delle case, entità che evoca più pratiche di «religiosità popolare» che dottrine di stampo dualistico. Resta da aggiungere che le preghiere rivolte al diavolo di cui parla Giovanni ricordano per i termini impiegati (σχήματα, ψυθυρίσματα, 231), più che il «Padre nostro» dei Bogomili evocato sulla base di Eutimio Zigabeno, gli scongiuri e la ripetizione di incantesimi dei maghi e delle streghe. Ma procediamo.

In un lungo passo, la *Dialectis* evoca una pratica particolare in uso presso i Koudougheroi:

Ho sentito anche questo. Quando vedete uno in punto di morte, il vostro capo (πρῶτος) entra all'interno della casa e caccia tutti fuori. Prende un velo (μανδύλιον), lo apre e dice a quello: «Ripeti: "Nelle tue mani consegno il mio spirito"» (Lc. 23, 46). E sia che la sua anima disgraziata allora esca sia che viva lo lega nel mantello come se legasse l'anima. È così o altrimenti?

Koudougheros: È così.

Cristiano: E da dove avete ricevuto tale insegnamento degno di riso?

Koudougheros: Da Cristo.

Cristiano: E dove è scritto?

Koudougheros: In questo modo anche Egli accolse l'anima della Madre sua (314-324).

World c. 650-c. 1450 cit., p. 287 n. 4: «This name for a demon is not otherwise recorded. Perhaps a reminiscence of the term *toparchos* for a local official».

⁵⁹ A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I, Liège-Paris 1927 (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 36), pp. 98-99.

⁶⁰ Cf. N.G. POLITIS, *Παράδοσεις*, I, Athina 1904, p. 216 (nr. 385); A. BALLENDAS, *Κνημιαζά, ἥτοι τῆς νήσου Κύθνου χωρογραφία καὶ ιστορία*, Hermoupolis 1882, p. 124; J.C. LAWSON, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion. A Study in Survivals*, Cambridge 1910, p. 260.

Queste righe sembrano essere state la base di Simeone di Tessalonica, quando scriveva che i Koudougheroi avevano traviato molti, soprattutto in punto di morte, conducendoli a rinnegare la fede⁶¹. Questa pratica, stando all'interlocutore di Giovanni Hamartolos, si rifaceva a un modello ben preciso costituito dal momento centrale della Dormizione della Madre di Dio. I testi e l'iconografia della Dormizione⁶² ci presentano infatti Gesù Cristo che prende l'anima della Madre nelle mani e la pone sulla spalla, prima di consegnarla agli arcangeli affinché sia portata in cielo. Nella tradizione letteraria e iconografica sulla Dormizione, Gesù prende solitamente nelle mani l'anima della Madre, mentre nella pratica e nelle parole dei Koudougheroi compare un velo (*mandylion*), del quale diremo tra un attimo.

Nella riproposizione del momento centrale della Dormizione della Madre di Dio come nella ripetizione delle parole di Gesù sulla croce da parte del morente, emerge il ruolo centrale del *protos* dei Koudougheroi che, come Dio Padre (e come Cristo), accoglie l'anima dell'agonizzante. Non è probabilmente un caso che le parole di Lc. 23, 46 siano ripetute al momento della morte anche da Maria, e rivolte al Figlio, in un breve discorso contenuto nella II *Omelia sulla dormizione* di Giovanni il Damasceno: «Nelle tue mani, Figlio mio, consegno il mio spirito. Accogli la mia anima che ho conservato immacolata. Custodisci sano il mio corpo che consegno a te e non alla terra (...)»⁶³.

Il significato della pratica descritta da Giovanni Hamartolos ci sembra altresì chiaro alla luce delle credenze diffuse nel mondo bizantino e postbizantino sul destino dell'anima nell'immediato *post mortem*. La credenza nei demoni doganieri⁶⁴, che attendono il defunto, e la necessità di

⁶¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 100 e n. 6.

⁶² Cf. R.F. TAFT - A.W. CARR, *Dormition*, in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* cit., I, pp. 651-653; K. KREIDL-PAPADOPOULOS, *Koimesis*, in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, IV, Stuttgart 1990, coll. 136-182; S.C. MIMOUNI, *Dormition et Assomption de Marie. Histoire des traditions anciennes*, Paris 1995; A. SEMOGLOU, *Le voyage outre-tombe de la Vierge dans l'art byzantin: de la descente aux enfers à la montée au ciel*, Thessaloniki 2003; e si veda anche, nella prospettiva che qui ci interessa, B.E. DALEY, «*At the Hour of our Death. Mary's Dormition and Christian Dying in Late Patristic and Early Byzantine Literature*», in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), pp. 71-89.

⁶³ B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, V: *Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, Berlin-New York 1988 (Patristische Texten und Studien, 29), p. 527.

⁶⁴ Cf. A. RECHEIS, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise. Das Wirken der Geister beim Heimung des Menschen in der Lehre der alexandrinischen und kappadokischen Väter*, Roma 1958; G.J.M. BARTELINK, *ΤΕΛΩΝΑΙ (Zöllner) als Dämonenbezeichnung*, in *Sacris erudiri* 27 (1984), pp. 5-18; si veda anche J. BAUN, *Tales from Another Byzantium. Celestial Journey and Local Community in the Medieval Greek Apocrypha*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 125-126.

difenderlo dai loro assalti ci fanno comprendere la funzione di protezione e di scongiuro di quanto compie sul morente il *protos* dei Koudougheroi. Il «velo» del quale si parla al riguardo non è altro che il μανδύλιον τῆς τέχνης ben conosciuto grazie alle pratiche magiche e di esorcismo⁶⁵.

* * *

L'esame della *Dialectis* di Giovanni Hamartolos, unica fonte diretta sui Koudougheroi bizantini del XIV secolo, ha mostrato con chiarezza come questo gruppo non vada collocato nella storia dell'eresia dualista medievale. Le pratiche e le credenze, spesso di carattere magico e superstizioso, nelle quali la demonologia e le raffigurazioni dell'al di là avevano senza dubbio un posto centrale, ci conducono piuttosto a forme di «religione popolare» (uso il termine essendo consapevole degli avvertimenti di J.-Cl. Schmitt). La volontà degli inquisitori di ricondurre questo tipo di religiosità all'eresia, nel caso concreto al Bogomilismo, è un meccanismo ben conosciuto per il Medio Evo e gli albori dell'età moderna. È interessante osservare come gli interessati si oppongano a questo tentativo, proclamando a più riprese di essere soltanto dei semplici cristiani, illiterati e incapaci di finezze dialettiche e di speculazioni teologiche. Se queste osservazioni valgono nello specifico per i Koudougheroi, il caso appare importante anche per la prospettiva più generale della storia del Bogomilismo in epoca tardo-bizantina. I Koudougheroi non erano Bogomili né erano «Cristiani» bosniaci. A questo punto le testimonianze sul Bogomilismo del XIV secolo si riducono a poca cosa: un paio di attestazioni dell'esistenza di piccole comunità nelle campagne, relitti effettivi o finti di un passato ben più glorioso. Di contro va rimarcata la vera e propria ossessione degli ortodossi dell'epoca per il Bogomilismo (e il Messalianismo) che comporta una lunga serie di accuse abusive di eresia, delle quali alcuni eventi connessi alla controversia palamitica rappresentano gli esempi più significativi. Qualche rara attestazione e una ripetizione continua di accuse di Bogomilismo prive di alcun fondamento: questo è il quadro che si presenta agli occhi dello storico. Le uniche due vicende relativamente ben conosciute, l'*affaire* all'Athos del 1344 e i Koudougheroi di Giovanni Hamartolos, ci permettono di andare al di là della rilettura eresiologica e ci presentano da una parte forme particolari di mistica «estremista» e dall'altra pratiche e credenze

⁶⁵ DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I cit., p. 699 s.v.

religiose diffuse in certi ambienti popolari. Di fronte a questi risultati, meglio a questi dati di fatto, ci sia concesso, per concludere, porre una domanda tra il provocatorio e il retorico: nella Bisanzio del '300 il Bogomilismo era ancora una realtà vitale?

ANTONIO RIGO

Discussione che <io> Giovanni Hamartolos
ho tenuto anni prima con il capo dei Koudougheroi

Koudougheros: «La parola della croce è stoltezza per quelli che vanno in perdizione; per quelli che si salvano, per noi, è potenza di Dio». Sta scritto infatti: «Distruggerò la sapienza dei sapienti e annullerò l'intelligenza degli intelligenti» (1 Cor. 1, 18-19)¹.

Cristiano: Alzati e rispondimi. Chi sono quelli che si salvano e chi sono quelli che vanno in perdizione?

Koudougheros: Parla tu per primo in modo che ti ascolti e poi risponderò.

Cristiano: Noi siamo quelli che si salvano, quelli che onorano e venerano la divina croce. Voi Koudougheroi siete quelli che vanno in perdizione, quelli che la oltraggiano e la chiamano forca² e leggono in modo blasfemo il passo evangelico. Infatti, invece di «prenda la sua croce» (Mt. 16, 24), dite e pensate in maniera rustica, grossolana e ignorante: «maledetta <la croce>»³. In altri termini ve ne sbarazzate.

Koudougheros: Noi siamo stati istruiti diversamente e pensiamo questo in maniera apostolica e nessuno ci convincerà a pensare o a parlare altrimenti.

Cristiano: Hai risposto in modo malvagio e sciocco. Ogni uomo dotato di conoscenza quando accetta qualcosa non deve farlo ingenuamente e senza esame, perché così molti sono stati tratti in errore. Deve

¹ L'inizio dell'opera con la citazione di 1 Cor. 1, 18-19 aveva dei precedenti. Da segnalare l'incipit del capitolo sulla croce di GIOVANNI IL DAMASCENO, *Sulla fede ortodossa*, 84: B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II, Berlin-New York 1973 (Patristische Texte und Studien, 12), p. 186 (BHG 424d = CPG 8084) [cf. V.A. BARANOV, *Homily on the Cross (CPG 8084): an unedited treatise by John of Damascus?*, in *Christianskij Vostok* 4 [10] (2002), pp. 319-321], estratto presente in EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXV: PG 130, coll. 1244C-1245A. Da ricordare anche l'*Omelia sulla croce* di Gabriele arcivescovo di Tessalonica, BHG 414b e l'*Orazione* di Nilo vescovo di Rodi, BHG 424f. La citazione di 1 Cor. 1, 18-19 compare nella letteratura antibogomila: EUTIMIO DELLA PERIBLEPTOS, *Epistola invettiva*: FICKER, *Die Phundagiagiten* cit., p. 74 e GERMANO II, *Omelia sull'esaltazione della croce e contro i Bogomili*: PG 140, col. 636B.

² Qualificazione quella di «φούστα» che ritroviamo nell'anatema antibogomilo nr. 11 del *Synodikon dell'Ortodossia*: J. GOUILARD, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Édition et commentaire*, in *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), p. 69 (l. 361) e nell'anatema nr. 4 della lettera a Costantinopoli di Germano II: FICKER, *Die Phundagiagiten* cit., p. 120, ll. 4-5; cf. RIGO, *Il patriarca Germano II (1223-1240) e i Bogomili* cit., p. 100.

³ L'esegesi di Mt. 16, 24, sulla quale si fonda l'idea della croce come oggetto di

Διάλεξις ἦν πρὸ χρόνων ἐποίησα
μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν Κουδουγέρων Ἰωάννης Ἀμαρτωλός.

- Κουδούγερος: Ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρίᾳ ἔστι, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις Θεοῦ ἔστι. Γέγραπται γάρ· ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω.
- Χριστιανός: Στῆθι καὶ ἀποκρίθητι μοι: Τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ σωζόμενοι, καὶ τίνες οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι;
- Κουδούγερος: Εἰπὲ πρῶτος σύ, ἵνα ἀκούσω, καὶ τότε ἀποκριθήσομαι.
- Χριστιανός: Σωζόμενοι μὲν ἐσμέν ἡμεῖς, οἱ τιμῶντες καὶ προσκυνοῦντες τὸν θεῖον σταυρόν, ἀπολλύμενοι δὲ ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ Κουδούγεροι, οἱ ἀτιμάζοντες αὐτὸν καὶ φούρκαν δονομάζοντες καὶ τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ὅητὸν βλασφήμως ἀναγινώσκοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τό· ἀράτω τὸν σταυρόν, ἄρατον λέγετε καὶ νοεῖτε ἀγροίκως καὶ παχέως καὶ ἀπαιδεύτως· τουτέστι φίψατε αὐτὸν ἐκ μέσου.
- Κουδούγερος: Ἡμεῖς ἄλλως διδαχθέντες τοῦτο νοοῦμεν ἀποστολικῶς, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμᾶς μεταπείσει ἄλλως φρονεῖν ἢ λέγειν. |
- Χριστιανός: Κακῶς ἀπολογῇ καὶ ἀφρόνως. Πᾶς γὰρ ἀνθρωπος γνῶσιν ἔχων, ὅταν τι παραδέξηται, οὐκ ὀφείλει δέχεσθαι αὐτὸν ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀνεξετάστως, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπλανήθησαν ἀλλ᾽ ὀφείλει καὶ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ μανθάνειν καὶ

Oxford, Christ Church 49 (O), ff. 135r-148v

3-5 1 Cor. 1, 18-19 || 12 Mt. 16, 24

invece chiedere, apprendere ed essere convinto, a meno che non sia colpito dalla infermità del diavolo, cioè la superbia.

Koudougheros: Noi siamo cristiani e non veniamo sedotti dal diavolo, non sia mai!, e non gli prestiamo ascolto.

Cristiano: Voi sareste cristiani? Quando mai? Voi falsificate il nome del Cristianesimo.

Koudougheros: E in che modo lo falsificheremmo?

Cristiano: Perché non onorate Cristo, dal quale noi abbiamo veramente il nome. Gli altri popoli non falsificano il loro nome, ma come si chiamano sono. Voi Koudougheroi invece vi dite una cosa e vi distinguete in un'altra: di conseguenza dite il falso.

Koudougheros: Ti ripeto ancora: non diciamo il falso, ma siamo quello che ci diciamo.

Cristiano: Mostramelo: la parola non è infatti sufficiente se non ha anche la testimonianza dei fatti.

Koudougheros: E quale altra testimonianza vuoi oltre al fatto che abbiamo le Scritture, le leggiamo e non ci discostiamo da quanto dicono?

Cristiano: Affermi il falso. Forse, come dite, possedete i libri, ma non pensate in modo a loro conforme e bestemmiate apertamente. Se vuoi ti dico quanti libri avete: il Salterio, i sedici Profeti, i quattro Vangeli, il libro degli Atti con le epistole e l'Apocalisse del Teologo⁴. È così o altrimenti?

Koudougheros: È così, come dici.

Cristiano: E da dove avete ricevuto la fede e la condotta di vita che seguite?

Koudougheros: Dal principio e dall'alto.

Cristiano: Non è vero.

Koudougheros: E allora dimmi tu da dove.

Cristiano: Siete un pollone dell'eresia dei Pauliciani e dei Messaliani e dei Manichei. La vostra eresia non fu conosciuta dall'inizio, ma si manifestò in seguito, nei giorni del celebre imperatore Alessio. Questo imperatore infatti, assieme alle altre sue virtù, possedeva un grande zelo

maledizione, è già presente nelle fonti sui Pauliciani, cf. FOZIO, *Notizia*, 22: ASTRUC - CONUS-WOLSKA - GOUILARD - LEMERLE - PAPACHRYSSANTHOU - PARAMELLE, *Les sources grecques* cit., p. 127, l. 17 (ὑπὸ ἀράν κείμενον), ripreso poi da Eutimio Zigabeno nel titolo contro i Pauliciani, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXIV: PG 130, col. 1196B.

⁴ Ripresa letterale di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 1: PG 130, col. 1292B (λέγω δὴ τὸ ψαλτήριον, τὸ ἔξκαιδεκαπόρφητον, καὶ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, καὶ τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην, ἔβδομον τῆς βίβλου τῶν πράξεων σὺν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πάσαις, καὶ τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ Θεολόγου Ἰωάννου).

- μεταπείθεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ νοσῇ τὴν νόσον τοῦ διαβόλου, τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν δηλονότι.
- 20 Κουδούγερος· Ἡμεῖς χριστιανοὶ ὅντες οὐ πειθόμεθα τῷ διαβόλῳ, μὴ γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἀκούμεν αὐτοῦ.
Χριστιανός· Ὑμεῖς χριστιανοί; Πόθεν; Οἵτινες ψεύδεσθε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ.
Κουδούγερος· Καὶ πῶς ψευδόμεθα;
- 25 Χριστιανός· Ὄτι Χριστὸν οὐ τιμᾶτε, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ὄνομα ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς ἀληθῶς· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα γένη οὐ ψεύδονται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ καλοῦνται καὶ εἰσίν· οἱ Κουδούγεροι δὲ ὑμεῖς, ἄλλο λέγεσθε, καὶ ἄλλο ὑπερέχετε, καὶ ψεύδεσθε δύολογουμένων.
Κουδούγερος· Οὐ ψευδόμεθα, πάλιν λέγω, ἀλλ' ὁ καλούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν.
- 30 Χριστιανός· Καὶ δεῖξον τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ ὁ λόγος, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ καὶ μαρτυρίαν τὰς πράξεις.
Κουδούγερος· Καὶ τίνα ἄλλην μαρτυρίαν ζητεῖς, | παρὰ ὅτι καὶ γραφὰς ἔχομεν καὶ ταύτας ἀναγινώσκομεν, καὶ οὐ παρεκβαίνομεν ἀφ' ὃν αὗται λέγουσι.
Χριστιανός· Ψεῦδος λέγεις· Ἰσως ἔχετε μὲν βιβλία, ὡς λέγετε, οὕτε δὲ νοεῖτε αὐτά, καὶ βλασφημεῖτε φανερῶς, καὶ εἰ θέλοις εἴπω σοι ἐγώ ὁ ποῖα βιβλία ἔχετε τάχα· ἔχετε τὸ ψαλτήριον, τὸ ἑξαιδεκαπρόφητον, τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τὴν βίβλον τῶν πράξεων, σὺν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ Θεολόγου· οὕτως ἔχει, ἢ ἄλλως;
Κουδούγερος· Οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς λέγεις.
- 40 Χριστιανός· Καὶ πόθεν παρελάβετε ἣν ιρατεῖτε πίστιν καὶ πολιτείαν;
Κουδούγερος· Ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀνωθεν.
Χριστιανός· Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθές.
Κουδούγερος· Καὶ εἰπὲ σὺ πόθεν.
Χριστιανός· Παραφυάς ἔστε τῆς τῶν Παυλικιάνων καὶ Μασαλιανῶν αἵρεσεως
45 καὶ τῶν Μανιχαίων, καὶ οὐδὲ ἦν γνώριμος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ αἵρεσις ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑστερον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ | τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κυρίου Ἀλεξίου· Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ καλῶν εἶχε καὶ ζῆλον ὑπὲρ

36-38 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 1: PG 130, col. 1292B7-12

35 φλασμημεῖτε Ο

per la pietà e si adoperò per descrivere tutte le eresie in un libro. C'era in quel tempo un medico, di nome Basilio, capo di questa eresia. L'imperatore mise le mani su di lui e adulandolo finse di voler apprendere da discepolo le sue dottrine. Ingannò quel vecchio sciocco e venne a conoscere tutta questa vostra eresia, senza lasciare nulla non esaminato. Poi, quale ricompensa, lo consegnò al fuoco, in quanto degno del fuoco eterno inestinguibile⁵.

Koudouheros: Non sappiamo né amiamo queste cose.

Cristiano: E che altro sapete, in modo di averne conoscenza, uomini grossolani, del tutto rustici e ignoranti?

Koudouheros: E perché saremmo ignoranti dal momento che abbiamo tanti libri quanto voi e li leggiamo assiduamente?

Cristiano: E se li leggete e li seguite, come mai non accettate il battesimo?

Koudouheros: Lo accettiamo e, se lo desideri, domandalo ai vostri preti e lo verrai a sapere.

Cristiano: Sì, lo domandate, lo so anch'io, ma solo per inganno, per far credere di essere cristiani e in questo modo vi mescolate a noi veri cristiani e vi nascondeste secondo l'abitudine e il metodo del diavolo, del quale seguite i consigli. Non accettate invece il vero battesimo e ciò appare chiaro dal fatto che se uno di voi è battezzato da un nostro sacerdote, voi lo battezzate di nuovo e dapprima gli fissate un periodo per la confessione e la purificazione, poi richiedete una testimonianza <per sapere> se ha adempiuto quello che gli era stato prescritto. Quando avete ricevuto la testimonianza da uomini e da donne, ponete sopra la sua testa il vangelo secondo Giovanni, recitando subito la preghiera, gli uomini assieme alle donne⁶. È così, o altrimenti?

Koudouheros: È così. Noi crediamo che il battesimo di Cristo consista nel porre il vangelo secondo Giovanni sulla testa del convenuto, nel

⁵ Giovanni trae queste informazioni da due passaggi di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, prol.: PG 130, coll. 1289D-1292A, e 52: col. 1332CD, dai quali evidentemente dipende. Il «libro» menzionato è appunto la *Panoplia dogmatica*. La genealogia dell'eresia qui tracciata sembra riprendere quanto aveva scritto ANNA COMNENA, *Alessiade*: i Bogomili derivano dai Manichei, che si chiamano anche Paulianici, e dai Messaliani ([...] Μανιχαίον τε ὡς ἀν τις εἴτοι δυσσέβεια, ἥν καὶ Παυλικάνων ὄρθεον εἴτοι μεν, καὶ Μασσαλιανῶν βδελυγία. Τουῦτον δέ ἔστι τὸ τῶν Βογομίλων δόγμα, ἐξ Μασσαλιανῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων συγκείμενον), XV, 8, 1: D.R. REINSCH - A. KAMBYLIS, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, I, Berlin-New York 2001 (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 40/1), p. 485, ll. 38-41.

⁶ Queste righe sul battesimo riprendono il passo di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 16: PG 130, col. 1312B10-D2.

- τῆς εὐσεβείας πολύν, καὶ ἐσπούδασε γραφῆναι πᾶσας τὰς αἰρέσεις ἐν ἐνὶ βι-
βλίῳ· Καὶ ἦν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἰατρὸς, ὀνόματι Βασίλειος, ἔξαρχος
50 τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης, καὶ μεταχειρισάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κολακείας ὑπεκρίθη
ὅτι βούλεται μαθεῖν, ὡς μαθητής, τίνα φρονεῖ· καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν ἐκεῖνον τὸν
λῆρον γέροντα, καὶ ἔμαθε πᾶσαν ὑμῶν τὴν αἱρεσιν ταύτην, μηδὲν ἀφεὶς ἀν-
εξερεύνητον εἴτα ἀνταμειβόμενος, παρέδωκεν ἐκεῖνον τῷ πυρὶ, ὡς ἄξιον τοῦ
ἀἰωνίου πυρὸς καὶ ἀσβέστου.
- 55 Κουδούγερος· Τοῦτο ἡμεῖς οὔτε οἴδαμεν, οὔτε στέργομεν.
Χριστιανός· Καὶ τί ἄλλο οἴδατε, ἵνα καὶ τούτου τὴν εἰδησιν ἔχητε, ἄνθρωποι
παχεῖς καὶ ἄγροικοι παντελῶς, καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι. |
Κουδούγερος· Καὶ πῶς ἐσμεν ἀπαίδευτοι, βιβλία ἔχοντες ὅποια καὶ ὑμεῖς, καὶ
ταῦτα συνεχῶς ἀναγινώσκοντες;
- 60 Χριστιανός· Καὶ εἰ ἀναγινώσκετε καὶ στέργετε, πῶς οὐ βάπτισμα δέχεσθε;
Κουδούγερος· Δεχόμεθα, καὶ εἰ θέλοις ἐρώτησον τοὺς ιερεῖς ὑμῶν, καὶ μέλλεις
μαθεῖν.
Χριστιανός· Ζητεῖτε ναί, οἶδα καὶ ἐγὼ τοῦτο, πλὴν κατὰ ἀπάτην, ἵνα δοκεῖτε
χριστιανίζειν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀναμύγγνυσθε ἡμῖν τοῖς κατὰ ἀλήθειαν χριστιανοῖς,
65 καὶ λανθάνητε ὡς ἂν ἔνι τρόπος καὶ τέχνη τοῦ πονηροῦ, παρ' οὗ ἔχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς
τὴν συμβουλήν. Ἀληθινὸν δὲ βάπτισμα οὐ δέχεσθε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ φανερόν, ὅτι
ἐάν τις ἔξ ὑμῶν παρὰ ιερέως ἡμετέρου βαπτισθῇ, ἀναβαπτίζετε αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς
πάλιν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δίδετε αὐτῷ καιρὸν εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ κάθαρσιν,
ἔπειτα ζητεῖτε μαρτυρίαν, εἰ ἐπλήρωσεν ὅσα παρηγέλθη, | καὶ ὡς ἂν λάβετε τὴν
70 μαρτυρίαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐπιτιθέατε τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ τὸ κατὰ
Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον, λέγοντες καὶ εὐχὴν τάχα, ἀνδρες ὅμοι καὶ γυναικες·
οὕτως ἔχει, ἢ ἀλλως;
- Κουδούγερος· Οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς δοξάζομεν Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα, τὸ
ἐπιθεῖναι τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ προσερχομένου, καὶ

46-54 Cf. EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, prol.: coll. 1289D-1292A,
e 52: col. 1332CD || 66-71 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 16:
col. 1312B10-D2 || 74-76 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 16: col.
1312C1-3, B10-12

recitare su di lui il «Padre nostro» e altro. Riteniamo invece che il vostro <battesimo> che effettuate con l'acqua sia di Giovanni il Precursore e che sia imperfetto⁷.

Cristiano: Se il nostro battesimo fosse fatto soltanto con l'acqua sarebbe quello di Giovanni, come tu dici, ma poiché è effettuato non solo con l'acqua, ma anche con lo Spirito Santo, secondo quanto ha insegnato Cristo con le parole: «Se uno non nascerà da acqua e da Spirito, non entrerà nel regno dei cieli» (Gv. 3, 5), abbai invano⁸. Inoltre il nostro battesimo ha questa testimonianza di Cristo e quale ulteriore conferma irrefutabile il fatto che al momento del battesimo di Cristo si aprirono i cieli e lo Spirito scese come una colomba e venne su di Lui e si udì una voce dal cielo che diceva: «Questo è il Figlio mio prediletto, nel quale mi sono compiaciuto» (Mt. 3, 16-17)⁹. Il Vangelo racconta tutto questo. Il vostro <battesimo> invece da chi è stato trasmesso? O mostrate in quale libro se ne parla o è chiaro che lo avete ricevuto dai demoni per essere spogliati dal vero e divino battesimo¹⁰.

Koudougheros: Noi imponiamo il vangelo e crediamo così che il nostro battesimo si effettui nello Spirito e nessuno ci farà mutare opinione.

Cristiano: Disgraziato!, non credi alla testimonianza di Cristo, né a quello che dice il Vangelo sul battesimo di Cristo? Inoltre appare chiaro che non capisci quello che leggi o che di tua volontà fai finta di non sentire e sei accecato. Quindi devi addurre da parte tua un'altra testimonianza o abbracciare il Vangelo. Se non ti è possibile o non vuoi, allora credi invano e segui un insegnamento demoniaco.

Koudougheros: Anche voi credete in molte cose che le Scritture dicono in modo diverso o che addirittura proibiscono.

⁷ Parole basate sempre sullo stesso capitolo di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO (*ibid.*, col. 1312C1-3, B10-12).

⁸ Giovanni riproduce alla lettera quanto Eutimio Zigabeno aveva scritto nello stesso capitolo: Εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑδατι μόνῳ τὸ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐτέλειτο βάπτισμα, ἦν ἀν οὔτω τοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸ ἡμέτερον βάπτισμα: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὑδατι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγίᾳ Πνεύματι τελεσιουργεῖται, καθὼς ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὸν εἰπών: Ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ δι’ ὑδατος καὶ Πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μάτην ὑλακτοῦσιν (*ibid.*, col. 1312D3-10).

⁹ Nel seguito dello stesso capitolo (*ibid.*, col. 1312D10-12), Eutimio Zigabeno rimanda, per ulteriori testimonianze scritturistiche sul battesimo, al titolo XXIV sui Pauliciani, dove troviamo citato Mt. 3, 16 (*ibid.*, col. 1201A) (Fozio); si veda anche col. 1260AB.

¹⁰ Altra ripresa pressoché letterale di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVIII, 16: PG 130, col. 1313A2-5 ([...] τὸ δὲ παρ’ ἐκείνων πόθεν παρεδόθη, δειξάτωσαν. Ἐν ποιά τῶν δεκτῶν αὐτοῖς ἔπιτά βιβλων περὶ τούτου γέγραπται; Λείπεται οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων τοῦτο μαθεῖν αὐτούς, ἵνα γυμνωθῶσι τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ θείου βαπτίσματος).

- 75 εἰπεῖν τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτερα· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον, ὃ ποιεῖτε δι' ὕδατος, λογιζόμεθα τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου, ὅπερ ἦν ἀτελές.
- Χριστιανός· Εἰ ἐτελεῖτο μόνον ὕδατι τὸ ἡμέτερον βάπτισμα, ἢν ἀν τοῦ Ἰωάννου ὃς λέγεις· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὕδατι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι τελεσιουργεῖται, καθὼς ἐδίδαξεν ὁ Χριστὸς εἰπών· ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, 80 οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, μάτην ὑλακτεῖς· ὅμως τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον βάπτισμα ἔχει ταύτην τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίαν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς βεβαίωσιν ἑτέραν ἀναμφίβολον, | τὸ ἀνοιχθῆνα τὸν οὐρανοὺς βαπτιζομένου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὃσεὶ περιστεράν κατελθεῖν καὶ μεῖναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ φωνὴν ἀκουσθῆναι εἰποῦσαν· οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ νίος μου, ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· ἄπερ πάντα λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Τὸ δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν, πόθεν παρεδόθη, ἡ δεῖξατε ἐν ποίῳ βιβλίῳ γέγραπται περὶ τούτου, ἡ φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων τοῦτο παρελάβετε ἵνα στερηθῆτε τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ θείου βαπτίσματος.
- Κουδούγερος· Ἡμεῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπιτιθέντες, οὕτω πιστεύομεν, διὰ πνεύματος τελειοῦσθαι τὸ ἡμέτερον βάπτισμα, καὶ οὐδεὶς μεταπείσει ἡμᾶς.
- 90 Χριστιανός· Ἀθλιε, καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδὲ ὅσα λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπὶ τῇ βαπτίσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ; Καὶ λοιπὸν φαίνεται ὅτι ἡ οὐ νοεῖς τί ἀναγινώσκεις, ἡ ἐκών ἐθελοκαφεῖς καὶ τυφλώττεις· ἡ γὰρ ἀπὸ σαυτοῦ ἑτέραν μαρτυρίαν ὀφείλεις προφέρειν, ἡ στέρξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῶν δύο δύνασαι ἡ θέλεις, | μάτην πιστεύεις καὶ δαμονικῇ ἀκολουθεῖς διδασκαλίᾳ.
- 95 Κουδούγερος· Ἐχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς πολλὰ ἄπερ λέγουσιν ἄλλως αἱ γραφαί, ἡ καὶ ἀπαγορεύουσι.

78-80 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 16: col. 1312D3-10 || 79-80 Gv. 3, 5 || 84-85 Mt. 3, 16-17 || 85-87 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 16: col. 1313A2-5

75 καὶ ἔτερα s.l. O || 85 δὲ s.l. O || 94 ἡ θέλεις iter. postea del. O || 95 ἄλλως s.l. O

Cristiano: E quali? Parla!

Koudougheros: Non sono in grado di conversare con te, perché sono un ignorante in confronto a te e ho il preceitto di non discutere con gli Scribi¹¹.

Cristiano: Infelice!, questo è un artifizio del malvagio per danneggiarti, <privandoti del>l'utilità che ne deriva, in modo che non siano svelate le sue cose e che il nemico vi arrechi danno.

Koudougheros: Noi riteniamo di non avere nulla da lui né di essere tratti in errore.

Cristiano: Com'è che non sareste tratti in errore dal momento che non avete un tempio, né divine icone, né croce, né sacerdozio, né sacrificio, e anzi li bestemmiate come fa il vostro stesso consigliere, il diavolo.

Koudougheros: E come potremmo avere un tempio se la Scrittura dice che «Dio non dimora in templi costruiti dalle mani dell'uomo» (At. 17, 24; 7, 48)?

Cristiano: Insensato! Non capisci il motivo per il quale il profeta ha detto questo? Lo ha detto per quelli che pensano che Dio è corpo e per i Giudei che avevano il tempio, veneravano gli idoli e, in terzo luogo, pensavano che, dal momento che Salomone aveva costruito il tempio a Gerusalemme, Dio dimorava soltanto lì e non altrove. Ha detto ciò per cacciare da loro tale idea. Noi invece, poiché crediamo che Dio sia ovunque, abbiamo chiese ovunque. Le chiese sono chiamate infatti case di preghiera. Per questo motivo Cristo dice: «La casa del Padre mio è una casa di preghiera» (Mt. 21, 13), e di nuovo: «Non fate della casa del Padre mio un luogo di mercato» (Gv. 2, 16)¹². E Davide dice: «Benedite Dio nelle chiese» (Sal. 67, 27)¹³, e poi: «La sua lode nelle chiese dei santi» (Sal. 149, 1). E gli Apostoli si recavano al tempio per pregare (cf. Lc. 24, 53; At. 2, 46) e prima di loro Cristo era andato al tempio (cf. Lc. 2, 46). Ma anche Mosè prefigurò il tempio quando, su ordine di Dio, elevò quella tenda (cf. Es. 33, 7). Ebbene, voi invece non avete un tempio, nonostante che ogni popolo abbia un edificio proprio nel quale si riuniscono e

¹¹ Secondo Eutimio Zigabeno i Bogomili chiamano gli ortodossi Scribi (*γραμματεῖς*) e Farisei, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 37: PG 130, col. 1325C1-3. E ancora: «Chiamano scriba ogni letterato e si raccomandano a vicenda di non accogliere un letterato tra i discepoli a imitazione, come è detto, di Cristo che non accolse lo scriba», XXVII, 48: *ibid.*, col. 1329B.

¹² L'autore si basa, amplificandolo, su un altro passo di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 18: PG 130, col. 1313C3-D6.

¹³ Cf. *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 42: PG 130, col. 1328B3-4.

Χριστιανός· Κάποια; Λέγε.

Κουδούγερος· Οὐ δύναμαι σοι ὅμιλεῖν, ἵδιώτης ὡν πρὸς σέ, καὶ παραγγελίαν ἔχων μετὰ γραμματικῶν μὴ εἰς λόγους ἔρχεσθαι.

100 **Χριστιανός·** Ταλαιπωρε· τοῦτο τέχνη ἐστὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ, ἵνα σε ζημιώσῃ τὴν ἀπὸ τούτου ὠφελείαν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ φανερωθῶσι τὰ σά, καὶ ζημιωθῇ ὑμᾶς ὁ ἔχθρος.

Κουδούγερος· Ἡμεῖς θεωροῦμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἔχομεν, οὐδὲ πλανώμεθα.

Χριστιανός· Καὶ πᾶς οὐ πλανᾶσθε, μήτε ναὸν ἔχοντες, μήτε θείας εἰκόνας, μήτε σταυρόν, μήτε ἱερωσύνην, μήτε θυσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλασφημοῦντες εἰς αὐτά, ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ σύμβουλος ὑμῶν διάβολος;

Κουδούγερος. Καὶ πᾶς ναὸν ἔχειν μέλλομεν, τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης ὅτι· οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ ὁ Θεός.

Χριστιανός· Ἀφρων· καὶ νοεῖς κατὰ τίνα λόγον | εἶπε τοῦτο ὁ προφήτης; Τοῦτο περὶ τῶν δοξαζόντων ὅτι ὁ Θεός σῶμα ἐστὶν εἶπε, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ιουδαίων ὅτε

110 τὸν ναὸν εἶχον, καὶ εἰδωλα ἐσέβοντο, καὶ τρίτον, ὅτι ἐνόμιζον ὅτε Σολομὼν ἔκτισε τὸν ναὸν ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μόνον κατοικεῖ ὁ Θεός καὶ οὐκ ἀλλαχοῦ· καὶ εἶπε τοῦτο ἵνα ἐκβάλλῃ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόνοιαν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὥσπερ πανταχοῦ δοξάζομεν εἶναι τὸν Θεόν, οὗτω καὶ πανταχοῦ ναοὺς ἔχομεν· οἵκοι γάρ προσευχῆς οἱ ναοὶ καλοῦνται, διὸ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς φησίν·

115 ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Πατρὸς μου οἶκος προσευχῆς ἔστι· καὶ πάλιν· μὴ ποιεῖτε τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Πατρός μου οἶκον ἐμπορίου· καὶ ὁ Δαβὶδ λέγει· ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳς εὐλογεῖτε τὸν Θεόν· καὶ πάλιν· ἡ [αἱ] νεοσις [αὐτοῦ] ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ὁσ[ίων]· καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν

τῷ Ἱερῷ πορεύομενοι προστήχοντο· καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἀνήχθη ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Μωϋσῆς, τὸν ναὸν δηλῶν, ἔστησε τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκείνην διὰ

120 προστάξεως Θεοῦ· | ἀλλ’ ἔστω ναὸν οὐκ ἔχετε, καίτοι γε καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος ἔχει

106-107 At. 17, 24; 7, 48 || 108-109 Cf. EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 18: col. 1313C3-D6 || 115 Mt. 21, 13 || 115-116 Gv. 2, 16 || 116-117 Sal. 67, 27 e cf. EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 42: col. 1328B3-4 || 117 Sal. 149, 1 || 117-118 Cf. Lc. 24,53; At. 2, 46 || 118 Cf. Lc. 2, 46 || 119-120 Cf. Es. 33, 7

117 καὶ πάλιν - δοίων in marg. O

compiono il loro culto. Per quale motivo non accettate le icone, la croce divina e il sacrificio che salva l'intero universo?

Koudouheros: Noi non conosciamo sacrificio se non la preghiera del «Padre nostro», «il pane – è detto infatti – sovraceleste» (cf. Mt. 6, 11). Allo stesso modo il calice che è chiamato nel Vangelo Alleanza: «questo calice – è detto infatti – è la nuova Alleanza» (Lc. 22, 20; 1 Cor. 11, 25)¹⁴.

Cristiano: Quanto degni di riso sono i tuoi ragionamenti e insegnamenti! In che modo il «Padre nostro», quale corpo del Signore, sarà diviso?¹⁵ Infatti Cristo dice: «Questo è il mio corpo spezzato per voi» (1 Cor. 11, 24) e «Prendete e mangiate» (Mt. 26, 26). Come si può mangiare e prendere il «Padre nostro»? Come si può bere come sangue la nuova Alleanza e le parole che sono dette? È scritto: «Bevetene tutti e fate questo in memoria di me» (Mt. 26, 28; 1 Cor. 11, 24). E perché non accettate le icone e la croce?

Koudouheros: Perché la Scrittura dice in merito alle icone che «gli idoli delle genti sono argento e oro, opera delle mani dell'uomo» (Sal. 113, 12; 134, 15)¹⁶. Riteniamo inoltre che la croce abbia ucciso Cristo e sia uno strumento mortifero¹⁷.

Cristiano: Disgraziato, non sai quello che dici! Siete simili agli animali privi di ragione e come quelli vanno dove uno li porta così anche voi siete trascinati nel precipizio e nel baratro della rovina dal vostro padre il diavolo. Grandissimo empio!, la parola dei profeti non riguarda le nostre icone, ma gli idoli. Una cosa è l'idolo e un'altra l'icona. L'idolo raffigura qualcosa privo di realtà, dal momento che gli insensati definivano déi gli idoli creati. L'icona è invece l'immagine di un prototipo reale: ci sono infatti icone di santi¹⁸ che hanno praticato ogni sorta di

¹⁴ Ripresa quasi letterale di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 17: PG 130, col. 1313B6-10: Ἀρτον μὲν γάρ κοινωνίας ὀνομάζουσι τὴν προσευχὴν τοῦ Πάτερ ήμων· τὸν ἄρτον γάρ φησι τὸν ἐπιούσιον, ποτήριον δὲ κοινωνίας ὅμοίως τὴν λεγομένην ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ διαθήκην. Τοῦτο γάρ φησι τὸ ποτήριον ἡ κανὴ διαθήκη.

¹⁵ Qui Giovanni amplifica il seguito del capitolo di Eutimio: Καὶ πῶς τὸ Πάτερ ήμων, ὃ σῶμα δεσποτικόν, ἥλαται καὶ διαιρεῖται; Cf. *ibid.*, col. 1313B12-13.

¹⁶ Cf. EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 11: PG 130, col. 1308D7-9: Ἀτιμάζουσι γάρ καὶ τὰς σεβασμίους εἰκόνας, τὰ εἰδώλα, λέγοντες τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων.

¹⁷ Ripresa di *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 14: PG 130, coll. 1309D13-1312A1, 1312A2: Ἀτιμάζουσι τὸν θεῖον σταυρὸν ὡς ἀναιρέτην τοῦ Σωτῆρος [...] θανατηφόρον δργανον.

¹⁸ L'autore si basa sulle righe di *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 11: PG 130, coll. 1308D10-1309A3: [...] ὅτι ἄλλο εἰδώλον, καὶ ἄλλο εἰκών, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν εἰδώλοις τὰ πρωτότυπα ἀνυπόστata καὶ ψευδῆ, θεοὺς γάρ ἐπεφήμιζον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὅντας θεούς, ἀλλὰ

οῖκον ἴδιον, ἐν ᾧ συνάγονται καὶ πληροῦσιν τὸ σέβας αὐτῶν. Διατί μὴ δέχεσθε τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὸν θεῖον σταυρόν, καὶ τὴν σωστικὴν παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου θυσίαν;

Kouudouýgeodos: Θυσίαν ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἴδαμεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν προσευχὴν τοῦ Πάτερ ήμῶν τὸν ἄρτον γάρ φησι τὸν ἐπούρανιον, καὶ ποτήριον ὅμοιώς τὴν λεγομένην ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διαθήκην· τοῦτο γάρ φησι τὸ ποτήριον ἡ κανὴ διαθήκη ἐστίν.

Xriostianós: ‘Ως γελοῖα σου τὰ νοήματα καὶ διδάγματα καὶ πᾶς τὸ Πάτερ ήμῶν ὃς δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μερισθήσεται; Τοῦτο γάρ φησιν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ σῶμα μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλάμενον, καί λαβέτε, φάγετε. Πᾶς οὖν φάγοι ἄν τις καὶ λάβοι τὸ Πάτερ ήμῶν; Πᾶς τὴν κανὴν διαθήκην καὶ ἀ λέγει ὡς αἷμα πίοι; Πίετε γάρ φησιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Εἰκόνας δὲ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν διατί οὐ δέχεσθε;

Kouudouýgeodos: Ἐπειδὴ περὶ μὲν τῶν εἰκόνων φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι· τὰ εἶδωλα | τῶν ἔθνων, ἀργύρουν καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν ἔχομεν ἀναιρέτην τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θανατηφόρον ὅργανον.

Xriostianós: Οὐκ οἶδας τί λέγεις ἄθλιε· ὅμοιοι ἐστὲ ἀλόγοις ζῷοις· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ἄγονται ὅπου ἄν τις αὐτὰ ἀγάγοι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄγεσθε εἰς κορημὸν καὶ βάραθρα ἀπωλείας παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ διάβολου. Οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγίων εἰκόνων δυσσεβέστατε ὁ λόγος τῶν προφητῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν εἶδώλων· ἄλλο δέ ἐστιν εἶδωλον, καὶ ἄλλο ἐστὶν εἰκὼν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶδωλον ἐστιν ἀνυποστάτου, εἶδωλα θεοὺς γὰρ ἔλεγον οἱ ἄφονες τὰ κτίσματα· ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστιν ἀνυποστάτου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ πρωτοτύπου εἰκὼν· ἀγίων γάρ εἰσιν εἰκόνες οἵτινες πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἐν βίῳ ἐνήργησαν καὶ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἡγωνίσαντο μέχρις

124-126 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 17: col. 1313B6-10 || 125 Cf. Mt. 6, 11 || 126 Lc. 22, 20; 1 Cor. 11, 25 || 127-128 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 17: col. 1313B12-13 || 128-129 1 Cor. 11, 24; Mt. 26, 26 || 130-131 Mt. 26, 28; 1 Cor. 11, 24 || 133-135 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 11: col. 1308D7-9 || 133-134 Sal. 113, 12; 134, 15 || 134-135 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 14: col. 1310D13-1312A1, A2 || 140-143 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 11: coll. 1308D10-1309A3

virtù durante la loro vita e lottarono per Cristo fino a versare il sangue e misero in fuga i demoni e che ora dimorano nei cieli e operano molti e straordinari miracoli. [...] quelle loro raffigurazioni degne di onore per meditazione e imitazione della loro vita e virtù. Infatti, uno imita quanto ama. E questo in merito alle sacre icone. La divina croce invece era un tempo uno strumento mortifero, ma poi da quando Cristo vi fu inchiodato è diventata uno <strumento> apportatore di vita e di trionfo, uno scettro santo¹⁹. I demoni lo temono e non sopportano neanche di vedere questo segno. Potrei produrti molte e antiche testimonianze scritte su Cristo, ma questa mi pare sufficiente per un uomo grossolano e ignorante come te. La croce è dal principio. Anche tu, come ogni uomo, la raffiguri. Se vuoi vedere come, distendi le mani e sta diritto in piedi: sappi che hai la figura della croce e che hai l'aspetto della croce giorno e notte anche se non te ne accorgi. Allo stesso modo, quando distendi le mani o le riunisci e ti prostri, raffiguri la croce anche se non lo sai. Anche il fatto che tu abbia due mani e due piedi indica la croce. La croce infatti è composta di quattro parti²⁰. Perché dico questo? Anche la casa nella quale abiti ha la forma della croce, e se è triangolare e se è quadrata. Ogni casa infatti è formata di angoli e tutti gli alberi, se uno osserva, hanno impressa la forma della croce. E se qualcuno presta attenzione in modo pio e assennato, quasi tutta la creazione ha la forma della croce perché tramite questa sarà rinnovata assieme all'uomo. Ma lasciamo da parte queste considerazioni e, partendo da un dato incontestabile, guardiamo quanta potenza possiede la croce. Quello che noi chiamiamo fonte battesimale è semplice acqua, ma con le preghiere ripetute dal sacerdote o dal vescovo è penetrata in essa la croce²¹. Come prima cosa

δαίμονας ψευδομένους τὴν θεότητα· τῶν δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν εἰκόνων τὰ πρωτούπα ὄντως ὄντα καὶ ἀληθεύοντα, δὲ καλοῦνται κάκεῖνα μὲν εἰδώλα μιαρῶν, ταῦτα δὲ εἰκόνες ἀγίων [...].

¹⁹ Cf. EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 14: PG 130, col. 1312A2-4: Μέχρι γὰρ τότε θανατηφόρον δργανὸν χρηματίζων, ἔκτοτε ζωηφόρον ὅπλον ἐγένετο, βασιλικώτατόν τε καὶ φοβερότατον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἦτε τῷ δεσποτικῷ αἴματι καὶ ὕδατι καταρράντιοθείς, e si veda anche il capitolo 15: col. 1312AB.

²⁰ Qui Giovanni amplifica quanto aveva scritto Eutimio Zigabeno nel titolo contro gli Armeni (al quale egli stesso rimandava nel passo citato in precedenza di XXVII, 14), *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXIII: PG 130, col. 1185B, si veda anche il capitolo sulla croce di Giovanni il Damasceno già ricordato (*supra*, n. 1). Considerazioni simili sul simbolismo della croce sono presenti in diversi autori, cf. quanto scriverà SIMEONE DI TESSALONICA, *Sul sacro tempio*, 133: PG 155, coll. 341D-344A.

²¹ Cf. sempre *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXIII: PG 130, col. 1185A. Si vedano poi la Ἀπολονθία τοῦ μικροῦ ἀγασμοῦ: J. GOAR, *Eὐχόλογον sive Rituale Graecorum*, Venetiis 1730, pp. 385-386, e poi *ibid.*, pp. 366-378 e la preghiera per la purificazione dell'acqua del pozzo: *ibid.*, pp. 478-480.

αίμάτων, καὶ δαιμόνιας ἐφυγάδευσαν, καὶ νῦν μεταστάντες εἰς οὐρανοὺς ποιούσι θαύματα πολλὰ καὶ ἔξαισια· κ[αὶ] τιμ[ίας] ἐκείν[ας] ἵστο[ρίας] αὐτ[ῶν] προ[...]οῦ[...]ερ[...]μενοι καὶ εἰς ἐνθύμησιν τῆς πολιτείας ἐκείνων καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ μῆτησιν δὲ γὰρ βλέπει τις καὶ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ μψεῖται. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν περὶ τῶν ιερῶν εἰκόνων. Ό δὲ θεῖος σταυρὸς | ἦν μὲν πρότερον ἵσως θανατηφόρον δόγμανον, ὑστερον δέ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ παγέντος ἐν αὐτῷ, ζωηφόρον ἐγένετο καὶ τροπ[α]ιοφόρον, καὶ σκῆπτρον ἄγιον, καὶ τρέμουσι τοῦτο δαί[μονες] καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ σημεῖον αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν ὑπομένουσι· πολλ[ὰς] οὖν ἔχω παλαιὰς καὶ γραφικὰς μαρτυρίας εἰπεῖν σοι περὶ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἀρκεῖ αὕτη εἰς ἄνθρωπον παχὺν καὶ ἀπαίδευτον οἶος εἴς σύ· δὲ σταυρὸς ἀρχῆθεν ἐστί, καὶ εἰκονίζεις αὐτὸν καὶ σὺ καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος· καὶ εἰ θέλοις ἰδεῖν, ἅπλωσόν σου τὰς χείρας καὶ στήθι δρθιος καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι σταυροῦ τύπον ἔχεις, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα κρατεῖς τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνῃ· δόμιοις καὶ ὅτε ἀπλοῖς τὰς χείρας σου ἢ συνάγεις αὐτὰς καὶ προσκυνεῖς, τὸν σταυρὸν τυποῖς καὶ οὐ γινώσκεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔχειν σε δύο χείρας καὶ δύο πόδας, τὸν σταυρὸν δηλοῖ· τετραμερῆς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ σταυρός· καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα; Καὶ ἡ οἰκία ἣν κατοικεῖς σταυροῦ τύπον ἔχει, κανόνες τε τρίγωνος ὑπάρχῃ κανόνες τε τετράγωνος· πᾶσα γάρ οἰκία ἐκ γωνιῶν συνίσταται, | καὶ πάντα δένδρα, εἴ τις στοχάσαιτο, σταυροῦ τύπον ἔχουσιν ἐνεσπαρμένον, ἐὰν περιεργασθῇ τις εὐσ[ε]βῶς κ[αὶ] φρονίμως], καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν σχεδὸν ἐστὶν δὲ σταυρός, ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμελλεν ἀνακαινισθῆναι καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ δὲ ἄνθρωπος· ἀλλὰ ἀφῶμεν τοῦτο καὶ ἔδωμεν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ὅσην ἔχει, καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἐνὸς πράγματος ἀναμψιβόλου. Ό δέ γομεν ἡμεῖς ἀγίασμα ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ εὐχῶν γινομένων παρὰ ιερέως ἢ ἀρχιερέως, εἰσάγεται ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ

148-150 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 14: col. 1312A2-4 e cf. 15: col. 1312AB

145-147 καὶ τιμ[ίας] – μψεῖται post ἔξαισια in marg. Ο || 148 ἦν μὲν iter. postea del. Ο || 151 καὶ γραφικὰς s.l. Ο || 156-157 ἢ συνάγεις αὐτὰς s.l. Ο || 161-162 ἐνεσπαρμένον – φρονίμως post ἔχουσιν in marg. Ο || 163 σχεδὸν in marg. Ο

si conserva incorruttibile e non genera vermi o cose simili. Acquista inoltre una efficacia guaritiva qualora se ne faccia uso. Una tal cosa non si verifica presso nessun altro popolo. Sulla base di testimonianze sappiamo che non può avvenire presso gli infedeli. Dal momento che la croce è divina, segno di Cristo e spavento per i demoni, vuoi un'altra testimonianza sulla croce per chiudere la bocca? La vostra affermazione secondo la quale il Vangelo dice: «maledetta la croce» è falsa e stolta. Infatti non recita così. Cristo dice: «Prenda la sua croce e mi seguì» (Mt. 16, 24)²² a quelli che lo amano. Cosa significa: «prenda»? Si crocifigga, si metta a morte, si renda inaccessibile al peccato o addirittura riceva il martirio per Cristo. Poiché anche Egli ha patito questo per noi. Questo è dunque la croce e questo significa «prenda», non come voi pensate e dite malvagiamente, voi che sarete spazzati dalla faccia della terra perché pensate e dite tali cose.

Koudougheros: Ti ho detto e ti ripeto che noi abbiamo il preцetto di non parlare con gli Scribi. Perciò non intendeva affatto parlare. Tuttavia, dal momento che mi hai costretto ti dirò anche questo. Come mai voi siete ingordi e mangiate tutto in modo incontinente? Noi ci asteniamo dalla carne, dal formaggio e dalle uova²³. In questo noi, che siamo da voi definiti blasfemi, non siamo forse superiori?

Cristiano: In merito al divieto di parlare con persone che conoscono le sacre Scritture, come ho detto in precedenza, ti ripeto che è un consiglio del nemico in modo che non veniate confutati, biasimati e disprezzati e considerati dai cristiani e dagli altri popoli come agenti di contaminazione. Per questo motivo volete rotolarvi nel fango dell'impietà e siete infastiditi se qualcuno tenta di destarvi. In merito all'astinenza dal formaggio, dalle uova e dalla carne dico che fate anche questo per ipocrisia. Dio infatti ha detto per mezzo della Scrittura che «tutto quanto aveva fatto era molto buono» (Gen. 1, 31). Voi fingete questa condotta per trarre in inganno quelli che vi guardano e con questo li persuadete a entrare in comunione con voi e così il malvagio ha il suo guadagno. Egli ha infatti l'abitudine di apparire quale un buon consigliere tramite beni apparenti.

Koudougheros: E allora è forse male che uno pratichi l'astinenza in queste cose?

²² Si veda *supra*, pp. 118-120 n. 3.

²³ Cf. indicazioni simili in EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 37: PG 130, col. 1325C6-7.

σταυρός· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διατηρεῖ αὐτὸ ἀσηπτον διαπαντός, καὶ οὐδὲ σκώλεκας γεννᾶν, ἢ ἄλλο τι ὅμοιον· ἔπειτα καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἴαματικήν, ὅπου ἂν τις αὐτῷ χρήσαιτο· διποῖον πρᾶγμα, εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος γίνεται, καὶ τοῦτο ἔγνωμεν ἐκ μαρτυρίας ὅτι εἰς τοὺς ἀπίστους οὐ δύναται γενέσθαι· τίνα οὖν ἄλλην ζητεῖς μαρτυρίαν περὶ σταυροῦ ἵνα ἐπιστομισθῆς, ὅτι θεῖος ἐστὶν ὁ σταυρός καὶ σημεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ φόβητρον τῶν δαιμόνων· δὲ λέγετε | ὅτι λέγει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὅτι ἄρσιτον τὸν σταυρὸν ψευδῶς λέγετε καὶ ἀνοίτως· οὐ γάρ λέγει οὕτως, ἀλλὰ ἀρά[τω], φησὶν δὲ Χριστός, τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι πρὸς τοὺς[ζ] αὐτὸν ἀγαπῶντας· τί δέ ἐστιν ἀράτω; Τούτεστι σταυροθήτω καὶ νεκρωσάτω ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀνενέργη[τον] ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀμαρτίας ποιησάτω ἢ καὶ μαρτυρησάτω ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ· ἔπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. Τοῦτο οὖν ἐστιν ὁ σταυρός, καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸ ἀράτω, οὐ μ[ὴν] δὲ δὲ ὑμεῖς κακῶς φρονεῖτε καὶ λέγετε· οἵτινες καὶ ἀρθείτε ἐκ τῆς γῆς, τοιαῦτα νοοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες.

Κουδούγερος· Εἶπον σοι, καὶ πάλιν λέγω ὅτι ἡμεῖς παραγγελίαν ἔχομεν, μετὰ γραμματικῶν μηδὲν διατοῦτο οὐκ ἥθελον ὅλως τι εἰπεῖν ἢ λαλῆσαι· δόμως ἔπειδή με ἡνάγκασας, λέξω σοι καὶ τοῦτο· πῶς ὑμεῖς ἀδδηφ[α]γῆτε καὶ πάντα ἐσθίετε ἀκρατῶς; Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπέχομεν καὶ κρέατος, καὶ τυροῦ, καὶ ωοῦ· ἀρά οὐ κρείττονες ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτῳ, οὓς βλασφήμους καλεῖτε; |

Χριστιανός· Περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ὄμιλεν μετὰ ἀνθρώπων γινωσκόντων γράμματα ἴερά, ὕσπερ σοι ἀνωτέρῳ εἶπον, οὕτω λέγω καὶ πάλιν ὅτι τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐστι συμβουλή, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθέντες καταγνωσθῆτε, καὶ περιφρονηθῆτε καθόλου καὶ λογίζησθε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς χριστιανοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς μίασμα, καὶ διατοῦτο θέλετε κυλίεσθαι εἰς βόρβιδον δυσσεβείας καὶ δυσχεραίνετε εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσῃ ἐγεῖραι ὑμᾶς. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι τυροῦ, ωοῦ, καὶ κρέατος λέγω ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ποιεῖτε· δὲ γάρ Θεὸς εἶπε διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ὅτι πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησε καλὰ λίαν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑποκρίνεσθε τοῦτο ἵνα ἀπατᾶτε τοὺς βλέποντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πείθητε συγκοινωνεῖν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔχῃ τὸ κέρδος δὲ πονηρός· καὶ γάρ συνήθειαν ἔχει ἐκ τῶν δοκούντων καλῶν φαίνεσθαι σύμβουλος ἀγαθός. |

Κουδούγερος. Καὶ κακόν ἐστιν ἵνα ἐγκρατεύηται τίς εἰς ταῦτα;

174-175 Mt. 16, 24 || 184-185 Cf. EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 37: col. 1325C6-7 || 192-193 Gen. 1, 31

184 καὶ κρέατος s.l. O | καὶ ἰχθύας del. post ωοῦ O

Cristiano: No. Ma è una cosa buona e degna di lode soltanto se è accompagnata da una buona disposizione. La buona disposizione consiste innanzitutto nel fatto che colui che pratica l'astinenza crede in Dio in modo retto e osservi i suoi comandamenti con sincerità. Se si bestemmia contro di Lui e i suoi misteri, fingere il digiuno e l'ascesi non porta nessun guadagno. Ogni cosa è infatti giudicata sulla base dell'intenzione nei riguardi di Dio e della pietà. I cibi invece non sono né dannosi né impuri come appare chiaro da quanto dice il Vangelo: «Non quello che entra nella bocca rende impuro l'uomo, ma quello che esce» (Mt. 15, 11), cioè le bestemmie, le offese, gli inganni e le menzogne. E ancora la Scrittura dice: «Vi do tutto questo come le verdi erbe» (Gen. 9, 3-4). E l'Apostolo: «Nulla di ciò che è stato creato da Dio è da scartarsi quando lo si prende con rendimento di grazie» (1 Tm. 4, 4); e poi: «Tutto è puro per i puri» (Tt. 1, 15), cioè i puri secondo la pietà e una condotta gradita a Dio. Vedi disgraziato come per inganno del malvagio fate quello che fate?

Koudougheros: E perché sarebbero inganno del malvagio le nostre pratiche, dalle quali i demoni fuggono come una freccia lanciata da un arco? In voi inabita un demone, in ognuno, sia durante la vita che dopo la morte, e non si allontanano nemmeno dai vostri resti²⁴.

Cristiano: Disgraziato, siete in errore anche in questo! Ma nemmeno questa dottrina l'avete imparata da voi stessi. L'inabitazione di un demone in ogni uomo <deriva> infatti dall'eresia dei Messaliani²⁵. D'altra parte ti rispondo che se ciascuno di noi avesse un demone inabitante, essi non ci permetterebbero di vivere per l'odio che provano nei nostri confronti e nemmeno ci sarebbe un giudizio e una ricompensa perché, come dici, i demoni dominerebbero gli uomini e gli uomini agirebbero, se fossero in grado di agire, per forza. Infatti chi è sotto il dominio di un altro non ha una volontà propria, ma fa quello che gli è ordinato. Inoltre i demoni non ebbero potere nemmeno sui maiali, come è scritto nel Vangelo, e ancor meno su di noi. E se Cristo fece ciò e ingiunse allora a quelli di entrare nei maiali, fu per mostrare che smania hanno i demoni

²⁴ Qui l'autore riassume quanto aveva scritto EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 13: PG 130, col. 1309C4-11: Λέγουσιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μὲν μόνων [...] φεύγειν δεὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ὥσει τόξου βολήν, ἐκάστῳ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐνοικεῖν δαίμονα, καὶ διδάσκειν αὐτὸν τὰ πονηρά, καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνοσιουργίας, καὶ ἀποθνήσοντος ἐνοικεῖν αὖθις τοῖς λειψάνοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραμένειν τῷ τάφῳ, καὶ ἀναμένειν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἵνα σὺν αὐτῷ κολασθεῖη, καὶ μηδὲ ἐν τῇ κολάσει τούτου διαχωρίζοιτο.

²⁵ Ripresa del seguito dello stesso passo di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 13: PG 130, col. 1309C11-13.

Χριστιανός· Οὐχί· ἀλλὰ καλὸν καὶ ἐπαινετὸν πλὴν μετὰ τρόπου καλοῦ· ὁ δὲ τρόπος ὁ καλὸς ἔνι ἵνα πρῶτον πιστεύῃ ὁ ἐγκρατῆς δόρθως εἰς Θεὸν καὶ τηρῇ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ ἀδόλως· τὸ δὲ βλασφημεῖν μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ μυστήρια αὐτοῦ, ὑποκρίνεσθαι δὲ νηστείαν καὶ ἀσκησιν οὐδὲν κέρδος ποιεῖ· πάντα γάρ πρὸς τὴν προαιρεσιν κρίνονται τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, τὰ βρώματα δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ βλαβερὰ οὐδὲ ἀκάθαρτα· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι φησὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι· οὐ τὰ εἰσερχόμενα κοινοῖ τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐξερχόμενα, ἥγουν αἱ βλασφημίαι, αἱ λοιδορίαι, οἱ δόλοι, καὶ τὰ ψεύδη· καὶ πάλιν ἡ γραφὴ λέγει, ὅτι· ὡς λάχανα χόρτου δέδωκα ὑμῖν πάντα· καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ὅτι· οὐδὲν κτίσμα Θεοῦ ἀπόβλητον μετ' εὐχαριστίαν λαμβανόμενον· καὶ ὅτι· πάντα καθαρὰ τοῖς καθαροῖς, | ἥγουν τοῖς καθαροῖς κατ' εὐσέβειαν καὶ πολιτείαν θεάρεστον βλέπεις ἄθλιε, πῶς κατὰ ἀπάτην ποιεῖτε ἢ ποιεῖτε τοῦ πονηροῦ;

210 Κουδούγερος· Καὶ πῶς ἀπάτη ἔστι τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ἀφ' ὧν φεύγουσιν οἱ δαίμονες ὡσεὶ τόξου βολήν; Εἰς ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐνοικεῖ δαίμων εἰς ἔνα ἔκαστον, καὶ ζῶντος καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν λειψάνων ὑμῶν ἀποχωροῦσιν.

Χριστιανός· Ἄθλιε, πλανᾶσθε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ· ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ἀφ' ἔστι τοῦτο μάθοντες· τὸ γάρ ἐνοικεῖν δαίμονα ἔκαστῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰόλεσεως ἔστι τῶν

215 Μασαλιανῶν πλὴν ἀπολογοῦμαὶ σοι, ὅτι εἰ ἐνοικον εἶχεν ἔκαστος δαίμονα οὐκ ἀν ἀφῆκαν ἡμᾶς ξῆν πρὸς τῆς κακίας ἦν ἔχουσι καθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ κρίσις ἡ ἀνταπόδοσις ἔμελλεν εἶναι ἐπειδή, ὡς λέγεις, ἐξουσιάζουσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ δαίμονες καὶ κατὰ βίαν πράττουσιν εἴ τι πράττουσιν οἱ ἀνθρώποι· | ὁ γάρ ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας ἐτέρου ὧν οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀν προσταχθῆ, ἐκεῖνα καὶ πράττει· εἴτα οἱ δαίμονες οὐδὲ κατὰ χοίρων ἔσχον ἐξουσίαν, ὡς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελῷ γέγραπται, πολλῷ μᾶλλον [κα]θ' ἡμῶν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἐπέταξεν ἐκείνοις τότε ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τοὺς χοίρους, ἵνα δεῖξῃ πόσην μανίαν

220

204 Mt. 15, 11 || 206 Gen. 9, 3-4 || 206-207 1 Tm. 4, 4 || 207-208 Tt. 1, 15 || 211-

212 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 13: col. 1309C4-11 || 215-216

EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 13: col. 1309C11-13 || 216-225 EUTI-

MIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVI: coll. 1277D1-1280B14 || 221-223 Cf. Mt. 8, 30-32

217 ὡς λέγεις s.l. O || 221 πολλῷ μᾶλλον [κα]θ' ἡμῶν in marg. O || 222 τότε s.l. O

contro gli uomini (cf. Mt. 8, 30-32)²⁶. Se avessero il dominio, nessun uomo sarebbe più generato e se, come cianciate, un demone rimanesse in ogni uomo, verrebbero a mancare i demoni: infatti da Adamo fino a oggi quante miriadi di uomini sono morti, un numero incalcolabile. Da un altro errore che seguite²⁷, dallo stesso aspetto del vostro volto e anche dai segni, dai fischi e dai bisbigli che fate durante le vostre false preghiere è invece chiaro che i demoni non fuggono da voi Koudougheroi, ma anzi trascorrono il tempo e vivono con voi.

Koudougheros: E quali segni, fischi e bisbigli faremmo durante le preghiere? Questa è una falsità manifesta. Noi infatti, quando preghiamo, ripetiamo la preghiera che Cristo ha insegnato nel Vangelo, il «Padre nostro» e niente altro, mentre voi ne dite molte, chiamate da Cristo vaniloqui (cf. Mt. 6, 7)²⁸.

Cristiano: Non sai quello che dici. Intendi come vaniloquio il fatto che salmeggiamo molto e di frequente?

Koudougheros: Sì.

Cristiano: Ma sei chiaramente uno stolto. Disgraziato!, Cristo chiama vaniloquio la richiesta di quanto non si addice, come ricchezza, gloria, buona salute, potere e le altre cose simili di questo mondo ricercate dai Gentili (cf. Mt. 6,7)²⁹. E su questo basta così. È noto che fate segni, fischi e bisbigli e che sono rivolti al malvagio, che chiamate Topakas della terra. Infatti, quando pregate vi volgete di fianco per salutare uno che arriva e vi parla, comportamento che è estraneo alla vera preghiera. Infatti la vera preghiera si realizza quando uno ha la mente raccolta in se stessa e non la volge qua e là, qualunque cosa possa accadere. Cristo ha insegnato il «Padre nostro» non limitando a questo soltanto la preghiera, ma perché da questo, come da una radice, prendessimo spunto per comporre anche altre preghiere³⁰.

²⁶ Qui Giovanni riassume un passo del titolo contro i Messaliani al quale lo stesso Eutimio aveva rimandato nel passo precedente sui Bogomili: XXVI: PG 130, coll. 1277D1-1280B14.

²⁷ L'autore riprende a utilizzare il capitolo XXVII, 13: PG 130, col. 1309D4-II.

²⁸ Riassunto del passo di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: PG 130, coll. 1313D9-1316A4: Μόνην ὄνομάζουσι προσευχὴν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου παραδοθεῖσαν ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις, ἥγουν τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν [...] καὶ ταύτην μόνην προσεύχονται. Τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πάσας προσευχὰς ἀτιμάζουσι, βαπτολογίας αὐτὰς ἀποκαλοῦντες.

²⁹ Ripresa dell'argomento presente nello stesso passo di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: PG 130, col. 1316A6-8.

³⁰ Giovanni riproduce pressoché alla lettera le parole di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: PG 130, col. 1316A8-13: Ὁ δὲ Κύριος παρέδωκε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὴν τοῦ Πάτερ ἡμῶν προσευχὴν δίξαν προσευχῆς καὶ εἶδος. Οὐ ταύτη μόνη τὴν

225 ἔχουσιν οἱ δαίμονες κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ γάρ εἰ εἴχον ἐξουσίαν, οὐδένα ἀν
ἔξωογόνει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ παρέμεινεν ἑκάστῳ ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων, ὡς
φυλαρεῖτε, ἐπέλειψαν ἀν οἱ δαίμονες· ἀπὸ γάρ Ἀδάμι μέχρι νῦν πόσαι μυριάδες
ἀνθρώποι ἀπέθανον, πάντως ἀναρίθμητοι. “Οτι δὲ οὐ φεύγουσιν ἀφ’ ὑμῶν τῶν
Κουδουγέρων οἱ δαίμονες, ἀλλὰ συνδιάγουσι καὶ συναναστρέφονται, φανερόν
ἐστι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πλάνης ἡς ἔχετε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰδούς τοῦ προσώπου
ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔτι ἀφ’ ἦν ποιεῖτε σχήματων καὶ συριγμάτων καὶ ψιθυρισμῶν εἰς τὰς
230 ψευδοπροσευχάς ὑμῶν.

Κουδούγερος· Καὶ ποῖα σχήματα, ποῖα δὲ συρίγματα καὶ ψιθυρίσματα ποιοῦμεν
εὐχόμενοι; | Τοῦτο ψεῦδος ἐστὶν ὅμολογουμένως· ἡμεῖς γάρ προσευχόμενοι
λέγομεν τὴν προσευχὴν, ἦν δὲ Χριστὸς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐδίδαξε, τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν
καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο· ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε πολλὰ ἄπειρος δὲ Χριστὸς βαττολογίας καλεῖ.
235 Χριστιανός· Οὐκ οἶδας τί λέγεις, καὶ τοῦτο νοεῖς βαττολογίαν τὸ ψάλλειν ἡμᾶς
πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις;

Κουδούγερος· Ναί.

<Χριστιανός>· Ἄλλὰ ἀνοηταίνεις φανερῶς· βαττολογίαν, ἄθλιε, δὲ Χριστὸς καλεῖ
τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ μὴ πρέποντα, ἥγουν πλοῦτον, δόξαν, εὐημερίαν, ἀρχήν, καὶ ὅσα
240 ἄλλα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἄπειρος ἐπιζητοῦσι τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως. “Οτι
δὲ καὶ σχήματα καὶ ψιθυρίσματα ποιεῖτε καὶ πρός τὸν πονηρὸν ταῦτα γίνονται,
δὲν Τόπακα λέγετε τῆς γῆς, φανερόν ἐστι· καὶ γάρ προσευχόμενοι, στρέφεσθε καὶ
εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ ὡς ἀν χαιρετίζετε τινὰ ἐρχόμενον καὶ ὅμιλούντα ὑμῖν, ὅπερ
245 ἐστὶν ἔξω τῆς ἀληθοῦς προσευχῆς· ἡ γάρ ἀληθής προσευχὴ ἐστιν ὅταν ἔχῃ τις
τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ συνηγμένον εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ μὴ φερόμενον | ἔνθεν κάκετθεν κάν
εῖ τι καὶ γένηται· τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν δὲ ἐδίδαξεν δὲ Χριστὸς προσεύχεσθαι οὐχὶ
περιορίζων ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ τὴν προσευχὴν, ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἔξ αὐτῆς ὡς ἀν ὁίζης δώσῃ
ἀφοδιάμην, καὶ ποιῶμεν καὶ ἐτέρας προσευχάς.

226-229 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 12: col. 1309D4-11 || 233-234 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: coll. 1313D9-1316A4 Cf. Mt. 6, 7 || 238-240 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: col. 1316A6-8 || 238-239 Cf. Mt. 6, 7 || 246-248 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: col. 1316A8-13

229 καὶ συριγμάτων in marg. O || 231 συρίγματα καὶ in marg. O || 238 χριστιανός sup-
plevi

Koudougheros: Noi onoriamo la preghiera più di voi che vi scagliate contro di noi.

Cristiano: E in che modo ciò si mostrerebbe?

Koudougheros: Perché noi recitiamo il «Padre nostro» sette volte al giorno e cinque volte di notte³¹.

Cristiano: E dove lo avete imparato?

Koudougheros: Dal Vangelo e da Cristo.

Cristiano: E mostrami se dica sette volte.

Koudougheros: Dimmi puttosto tu quante volte pregate durante le ventiquattro ore e da chi lo avete imparato.

Cristiano: Noi preghiamo sette volte e lo abbiamo appreso da Davide. Egli dice infatti: «Sette volte al giorno io ti lodo» (Sal. 118, 164) (intende per giorno le ventiquattro ore). C'è un'altra parola elevata che la tua ragione non può comprendere. Ci sono i sette carismi dello Spirito Santo che vengono enumerati dal profeta Isaia (cf. Is. 11, 2). Noi preghiamo sette volte sul modello di questi sette carismi dello Spirito Santo in modo che siano con noi. D'altra parte se qualcuno prega in modo più assiduo lo riteniamo superiore all'uomo e simile agli angeli, come molti dei nostri hanno fatto e fanno dimorando nei monti. Vedi come noi abbiamo tutto fondato su testimonianze sicure mentre quanto dite voi Koudougheroi è privo di testimonianze?

Koudougheros: Noi riteniamo di vivere in modo più osservante di voi e che le beatitudini contenute nel Vangelo (cf. Mt. 5, 3-12)³² siano a noi rivolte perché non abbiamo moglie, né siamo ingordi, ma digiuniamo e professiamo la verità.

Cristiano: Quello che dici è degno di riso. In che modo voi sareste degni di quelle beatitudini? È possibile che il nemico dell'imperatore sia da lui lodato? O è possibile che chi viola la legge non sia detto violatore della legge e sia addirittura lodato apertamente? Affatto. E allora in che modo voi che bestemmiate Dio e non avete nessuna considerazione per i suoi misteri, né osservate quello che ha ordinato e siete sottoposti al nemico, sareste degni di tali beatitudini? È un inganno assieme agli altri. Il nemico desidera che per i beni apparenti noi siamo puniti con lui per

προσευχὴν περιοίχων, ὀλλ᾽ ἵνα λαμβάνοντες ἐκ ταύτης τὰς ἀφορμὰς δύνωνται ποεῖν καὶ ἔτέρας, αὐξανομένης τῆς προσευχῆς.

³¹ Cf. EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: PG 130, col. 1316D11-12 (καὶ ταύτην μόνην προσεύχονται ἐπτάκις μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας, πεντάκις δὲ τῆς νυκτός).

³² Combinazione di due passi di EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, 37 e 35: PG 130, col. 1325C5-6, 1325A10-12.

- Κουδούγερος· Ἡμεῖς πλέον τιμῶντες τὸ προσεύχεσθαι παρὰ ὑμᾶς οἱ καθ' ἡμῶν
 250 ἐπαιρόμενοι.
- Χριστιανός· Καὶ πόθεν τοῦτο φανερόν;
- Κουδούγερος· Ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐπτάκις μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας, πεντάκις δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς
 προσευχόμεθα τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν.
- Χριστιανός· Καὶ πόθεν τοῦτο παρελάβετε;
- 255 Κουδούγερος· Ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- Χριστιανός· Καὶ δεῖξον καὶ ἀν ἐπτάκις λέγῃ.
- Κουδούγερος· Καὶ εἰπὲ σύ, ποσάκις προσεύχεσθε τὸ ἡμερονύκτιον καὶ πόθεν
 260 ἔχετε παραλαβόντες.
- Χριστιανός· Ἡμεῖς προσευχόμεθα ἐπτάκις, καὶ παρελάβομεν τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Δαβίδ· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας γῆνεσά σε· ἡμέραν λέγων τὸ ἡμερονύκτιον.²⁵² Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ὑψηλός, διὸ οὐ χωρεῖ ἡ διάνοια σου· ὅτι
 265 ἐπτὰ χαρίσματα εἰσὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, | ἀπερ̄ Ἡσαῦας δὲ προφήτης
 ἀπαριθμεῖ· καὶ εἰς τύπον τῶν ἐπτὰ τούτων χαρισμάτων ἵνα γένωνται μεθ' ἡμῶν
 προσευχόμεθα ἐπτάκις· πλὴν εἴ τις καὶ διηγηκὼς τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἔχομεν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ
 270 ἀνθρωπὸν καὶ ἰσάγγελον ὡς πολὺοι τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐν
 δρεσὶ καθήμενοι. Βλέπεις πῶς ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔχομεν πάντα μετὰ μαρτυριῶν ἀσφαλῶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ Κουδούγεροι ὅσα λέγετε εἰσὶν ἀμάρτυρα;
- Κουδούγερος· Ἡμεῖς θεωροῦμεν ὅτι ἀκριβέστερον ὑμῶν πολιτευόμεθα, καὶ οἱ
 275 μακαρισμοὶ οὓς ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς ὑμᾶς διαβαίνουσι, τοὺς μήτε γυναικας
 ἔχοντας, μήτε ἀδηφαγοῦντας, ἀλλὰ νηστεύοντας καὶ ἀληθεύοντας.
- Χριστιανός· Ἄξια γέλωτος δὲ λέγεις· καὶ πόθεν ὑμεῖς ἄξιοι τῶν μακαρισμῶν
 280 ἐκείνων· ἔστι δυνατὸν τὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαινεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ; Ἡ ἔστι
 τὸν παρανομοῦντα μὴ λέγεσθαι παράνομον, ἀλλὰ ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι παροησίᾳ;
 Οὐδαμῶς· | πῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς τὸν Θεὸν βλασφημοῦντες καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ μυστήρια
 285 μηδὲν ἥγούμενοι, μηδὲ τηροῦντες ἀπερ̄ ἐπέταξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐχθρῷ δουλούμενοι,
 τοιούτων μακαρισμῶν ἄξιοι; Πλάνη ἔστι καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων· καὶ
 βούλεται δὲ ἐχθρὸς ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων δεξιῶν ἔχῃ ὑμᾶς συγκολασθέντας

252-253 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 19: col. 1313D11-12 || 260
 Sal. 118, 164 || 262-263 Cf. Is. 11, 2 || 268-269 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO, *Panoplia dogmatica*, XXVII, 37: col. 1325C5-6 || 269-270 Cf. Mt. 5, 3-12 || 270 EUTIMIO ZIGABENO,
Panoplia dogmatica, XXVII, 35: col. 1325A10-12

249 ἡμῶν corr.: ὑμῶν Ο || 253 Πάτερ ἡμῶν in marg. Ο

sua consolazione. Lo ripeto di nuovo: se osservate i comandamenti di Cristo e tutto quello che ha prescritto, allora sarà un bene anche il vostro celibato. «Il bene allora sarà bene, quando si realizzerà bene»³³. È dunque un bene non prendere moglie soltanto se anche le altre opere concordano e, innanzitutto, la fede in Dio. Così anche noi lodiamo e onoriamo la verginità se chi la possiede osserva con diligenza anche il resto, cioè la fede ortodossa, il divino battesimo, i sacri misteri, la fede nella santa e consustanziale Trinità. Chiuse le fondamenta, come sarà possibile costruire una casa o porre un tetto? Non c'è quindi da meravigliarsi se alcuni tra voi non hanno donne. Fecero lo stesso anche altri eretici e gli Elleni che nemmeno credevano in Dio. In più fate questo per superbia, per trarre gloria da ciò e scagliarvi contro gli altri: cosa che non ha alcuna ricompensa soprattutto quando chi fa questo è bestemmiatore di Dio. Voi dunque Koudougheroi poiché non avete nessuna sottigliezza, né la minima sapienza nella parola da sembrare alcunché, di necessità cercate con questo, così come capita, di sembrare qualcuno. D'altra parte neanche questo è degno di fede. E perché? Perché ognuno di voi ha una di quelle che chiamate monache bianche, e questa lo cura nelle sue necessità e non provate vergogna a raccontarlo. Avrei da narrare molte altre vostre bestemmie che dite e fate su insegnamento del malvagio, ma le tralascio per non insozzare la mia lingua. Questo è sufficiente per un uomo provvisto di senno se vuole pentirsi e apprendere la verità. Se dunque lo desideri è facile: confessa la santa e vivificante Trinità, che è una essenza e natura uniche in tre ipostasi, confessa che una <persona> della Trinità, Cristo Dio nostro si è veramente incarnato. Confessa il senso pieno del santo simbolo e non soltanto le parole. Onora la veneranda croce e segnati con il suo segno. Lancia l'anatema sul Topakas della terra e quelli che chiamate catari e nonnetti, ungiti con il divino mirone, prima sarai battezzato nel nome della Santa Trinità e poi ti accoglieremo e mangeremo e berremo con te e ti tratteremo come un fratello e un consanguineo. Se invece non lo vorrai e non lo farai non avrai mai alcuna comunione con noi, e se qualcuno dei nostri cristiani, così rimanendo tu, ti considererà cristiano, mangerà e berrà con te e diventerà tuo consanguineo, incorrerà nella tua stessa condanna, quale apostata. Giudi-

³³ Proverbio citato, tra gli altri, da GREGORIO DI NAZIANZO, *Orazioni*, 27, 4: P. GALLAY - M. JOURJON, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours, 27-31 (Discours théologiques)*, Paris 1978 (Sources chrétiennes, 250), p. 80; GIOVANNI IL DAMASCENO, *Sacra parallela: PG 96, col. 169*; e, nel XIV secolo, CALLISTO E IGNAZIO XANTHOPULOI, *Metodo e canone esatto*, 59: *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτυχῶν*, IV, Athina 1976³, p. 256.

αὐτῷ εἰς παραμυθίαν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦτο λέγω καὶ πάλιν ὅτι εἰ ἐτηρεῖτε τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἐπέταξεν ἄλλα, ἦν ἄν καλὸν καὶ ἡ ἀγαμία ὑμῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρώτων τὸ γὰρ καλὸν τότε ἐστὶ καλὸν ὅταν γένηται καλῶς· καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ λαμβάνειν γυναῖκας πλὴν ἐάν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συμφωνῶσιν ἔργα καὶ πρὸ πάντων ἡ πρὸς Θεὸν πίστις: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν παρθενίαν ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ θαυμάζομεν, ἐάν ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τηρῇ ἐπιμελῶς, ἥγουν τὴν πίστιν τὴν δοθόδοξον, τὸ θεῖον βάπτισμα, τὰ ἱερά μυστήρια, τὴν διμολογίαν τῆς ἀγίας καὶ διμούνσιον Τριάδος· | Θεμελίου γὰρ μύνοντος, πῶς κτίσει τις οἶκον ἢ ὅροφον ἐπιθήσει; Οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστὸν ἐάν μὴ ἔχῃτε τινὲς γυναῖκας· τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν αἰρετιῶν ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵτινες οὐδὲν Θεὸν ὠμολόγουν· τὸ πλέον ποιεῖτε διὰ ὑπεροφανίαν τοῦτο, ἵνα ἔχῃτε δόξαν ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ ἐπαιρησθε κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων, δπερ μισθὸν οὐδένα ἔχει, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν καὶ 285
290
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305 βλάσφημος ὑπάρχῃ εἰς Θεὸν ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν ὑμεῖς οὖν οἱ Κουδούγεροι ἐπειδὴ οὐδεμίαν λεπτότητα ἔχετε, οὐδὲ σοφίαν λόγου ἵνα δοκήτε τι, ἐξ ἀνάγκης μεταχειρίζεσθε καν αὐτά, ἄπλως καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἵνα φαίνησθε τίποτε· πλὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐστὶ πιστόν, πῶς γάρ; Ἐπειδὴ ἔκαστος ὑμῶν ἔχει μίαν ἀφ' ὧν λέγετε ἀσπροκαλογραιῶν καὶ θεραπεύει αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς χρείαν ἔχει καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε καὶ λέγειν αὐτό. | Πολλὰς ἔχω εἰπεῖν καὶ ἄλλας ὑμετέρας βλασφημίας, ἀς καὶ λέγετε καὶ πράττετε ἐκ διδασκαλίας τοῦ πονηροῦ, ἀλλὰ παραιτοῦμαι τοῦτο ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐμὴν γλῶσσαν μολύνω ἵνανὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἄνθρωπον φρόνιμον ἄν θέλῃ ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ἐὰν οὖν θέλῃς εὔκολον ἐστίν, διμολόγησον τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ζωοποίὸν Τριάδα, ὅτι μία οὐσία καὶ φύσις ἐστὶν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν· διμολόγησον ὅτι ἐσαρκώθη ἀληθῶς ὁ εἰς τῆς Τριάδος Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν διμολόγησον τὴν ἔννοιαν πᾶσαν τοῦ ἀγίου συμβόλου καὶ μὴ τὰ γράμματα μόνον· προσκύνησον τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, καὶ σημειώθητι τῷ τύπῳ αὐτοῦ· ἀναθεμάτισον τὸν Τόπακα τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὓς λέγετε καθαροὺς καὶ πάππουδας· καὶ χρίσθητι τῷ θείῳ μύρῳ, πρότερον βαπτισθεὶς εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος, | καὶ δεξόμεθά σε καὶ συμφάγομεν μετὰ σοῦ καὶ συμπίομεν, καὶ ὡς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγγενῆ ἔξομεν. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ θέλεις οὐδὲ ποιήσεις, οὐδεμίαν κοινωνίαν ἔξεις ποτὲ μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ἡμετέρων χριστιανῶν, οὕτως ἔχοντά σε, λογίζηται ὡς χριστιανὸν καὶ συντρόγωγε καὶ συμπίνει μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ συγγένειαν ποιεῖ, τὴν αὐτὴν κόλασιν θέλει δώσειν, οἴαν καὶ σύ, ὡς κατα-

280 Cf. GREGORIO DI NAZIANZO, *Orazioni*, 27, 4, ed. GALLAY - JOURJON cit., p. 80; GIOVANNI IL DAMASCENO, *Sacra parallela*: PG 96, col. 169

278 αὐτῷ s.l. Ο || 305 συφάγομεν Ο

chiamo infatti meno grave se uno si mescola agli altri popoli piuttosto che a voi Koudougheroi detti anche Koukoubrikoi, perché siete una mescolanza di ogni sorta di malvagità e di molte eresie. Per questo motivo anche la Chiesa di Cristo vi ha reciso e ha scomunicato ogni uomo che vi accoglie e che è in comunione con voi, sia egli sacerdote sia laico³⁴.

Ho sentito anche questo. Quando vedete uno in punto di morte, il vostro capo entra all'interno della casa e caccia tutti fuori. Prende un velo, lo apre e dice a quello: «Ripeti: “Nelle tue mani consegno il mio spirito”» (Lc. 23, 46). E sia che la sua anima disgraziata allora esca sia che viva, annoda il velo come se legasse l'anima. È così o altrimenti?

Koudougheros: È così.

Cristiano: E da dove avete ricevuto tale insegnamento degno di riso?

Koudougheros: Da Cristo.

Cristiano: E dove è scritto?

Koudougheros: In questo modo anche Egli accolse l'anima della Madre sua.

Cristiano: Che stoltezza e demenza! Il velo era là? Ed è forse possibile che qualcosa di materiale e grossolano accolga l'anima immateriale e invisibile? O si è sentito mai che l'immateriale è legato e delimitato? E se l'anima è delimitata, allora non cambia condizione dopo questa vita, meglio non è altro che il solo respiro, si dissolve nell'aria e passa al non-essere. Che follia, disgraziato! Non credi nemmeno di avere un'anima razionale e libera, né pensi di essere un duplice <composto> di anima e di corpo, ma vivi come un animale privo di ragione. Perciò non credi nella resurrezione, né nel giudizio, né nella ricompensa. Quale anima sarà infatti giudicata: quella che leghi nel velo, e quando lo apri non trovi niente dentro? Quanto grande è la tua grossolanità! Meglio, quanto grande è l'inganno con il quale ti ha illuso Satana, che chiamate Satana e <Topakas>. Se fosse possibile prendere l'anima nel velo, prima di tutto quell'anima non esisterebbe, poi diventeresti Dio anche tu, se ciò ti fosse possibile. Oh che empietà! È del tutto conveniente che voi non manifestiate la vostra vita e condotta per le trasgressioni che operate!

E se qualche cristiano non si allontana da voi, soltanto riconoscendo la vostra eresia, quello è un disgraziato ed è già stato condannato. Ma che

³⁴ Queste righe (298-314) ricalcano evidentemente i formulari d'abiura nelle loro diverse parti: confessione di fede, anatema, sezione sacramentale (unzione e battesimo), clausola finale.

- 310 φρονητής. Ὄλιγώτερον γὰρ κρίνομεν ἵνα τις ἀναμύγνυται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ἢ ὑμῖν τοῖς Κουδουνέροις καὶ Κουκουβρίκοις ὀνομαζομένοις, διότι ἐστὲ μίγμα πάσης κακίας καὶ πολλῶν αἰφέσεων, διὸ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία ἔξεκοψεν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀφώρισε πάντα ἄνθρωπον τὸν δεχόμενον ὑμᾶς καὶ συγκοινωνοῦντα, κανένα ιερεύς ἐστι, κανένα κοσμικός. | Ἀκούω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ὡς ἂν ἴδητε τινὰ ψυχορραγοῦντα, εἰσέρχεται ἐντὸς τῆς οἰκίας ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῶν καὶ ἔξαγει πάντας ἔξω, καὶ λαβὼν μανδύλιον, ἀπλοῖ τοῦτο, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· εἰπέ δι τοῖς χεῖρας σου παρατίθημι τὸ πνεῦμα μου καὶ κανένα τε ἔξέλθῃ τότε ἡ ἀθλία ἐκείνου ψυχὴ κανένα τε ζῆσθη ποιεῖ δεσμὸν εἰς τὸ μανδύλιον, ὧσανεὶ δεσμῶν τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτως ἔχει ἡ ἄλλως;
- 315 320 Κουδούγερος· Οὔτως.
Χριστιανός· Καὶ πόθεν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀξίας γέλωτος διδασκαλίαν παραλάβετε;
Κουδούγερος· Ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
Χριστιανός· Καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο γέγραπται;
Κουδούγερος· Οὔτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβε τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ.
- 325 330 Χριστιανός· Ὡς τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ παραφροσύνης· καὶ μανδύλιον ἦν ἔκει; Καὶ ἔστι δυνατὸν τὴν ἄυλον καὶ ἀόρατον ψυχὴν, ἵνα τι δέξηται αὐτὴν ὑλικὸν καὶ παχύ;
Ἄντοιούσθη τοῦτο ποτὲ ὅτι δεσμεῖται καὶ περιορίζεται τὸ ἄυλον; Καὶ εἰ περιορίζεται, λοιπὸν οὐ μεθίσταται | ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἔστι ψυχὴ πόθεν ἀλλὰ πνοή ἔστι μόνον, καὶ διαλύεται εἰς τὸν ἀέρα καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄντα· ὃ τῆς ἀλογίας ἀθλεῖ· καὶ οὐ πιστεύεις λοιπὸν ὅτι ψυχὴν ἔχεις λογικὴν καὶ αὐτεξούσιον, οὐδὲ νομίζεις ὅτι διπλοῦς ὑπάρχεις ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἀλογον ἔφον ζῆς· διὸ οὐδὲ ἀνάστασιν δοξάζεις, οὐδὲ κρίσιν, οὐδὲ ἀνταπόδοσιν· ποῦα γὰρ ψυχὴ μέλλει κριθῆναι· ἔκεινη ἦν δεσμεῖς εἰς τὸ μανδύλιον, εἴτα ἀνοίγεις αὐτό, καὶ οὐδὲν εὑρίσκεις τίποτε ἐντός; Ὡς τῆς παχύτητός σου, μᾶλλον δὲ ὃ τῆς πλάνης ἦν ἐπλάνησέ σε δὲ Σατανᾶς, διν καλεῖτε Σατανᾶ καὶ <Τόπακα>· καὶ εἰ δύνασαι λαβεῖν ψυχὴν ἐν μανδυλίῳ, πρῶτον μὲν ἔκεινη ψυχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν· ἔπειτα γίνῃ καὶ Θεός καὶ σύ, εἰ τοῦτο δύνασαι· φεῦ τῆς ἀσεβείας· ἔπρεπε μηδὲ | φεῖναι ὑμᾶς ὅλως ζῆν ἢ φαίνεσθαι πρὸς τὰς παρανομίας ἀς ἐργάζεσθε· καὶ εἴ τις τῶν χριστιανῶν οὐκ ἀποστρέφεται ὑμᾶς, γινώσκων μόνον τὴν αἵρεσιν ὑμῶν, ἀθλιος οὗτος καὶ κατακεκριμένος· ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς
- 340

316-317 Lc. 23,46

336 Τόπακα supplevi

Dio ci liberi dalla vostra comunione e dia a voi Koudougheroi perspicacia e conoscenza in modo che vi volgiate alla verità e, lasciando le tenebre, corriate verso la luce. Ma se vuoi che ancora noi parliamo: ecco, sono pronto persino a dare per te un mio membro, pur di guadagnare te solo».

Koudougheros: Quello che ti ho detto fin dall'inizio te lo ripeto anche ora. Non sono in grado di conversare con te, sono infatti ignarante. Stammi bene, anche se mi rammarico di quanto ho fatto.

Cristiano: La tua strada sia dunque tenebre ed errore. L'angelo del Signore ti scacerà perché hai preferito la menzogna alla verità e le tenebre alla luce.

μὲν ὁ ὄντος τῆς ὑμῶν κοινωνίας, ὑμῖν δὲ τοῖς Κουδουγέροις δώῃ σύνεσιν καὶ γνῶσιν ὥστε ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀφέντες τὸ σκότος δραμεῖν εἰς τὸ φῶς. Βούλει καὶ ἔτι λέγειν ἡμᾶς· ἐγὼ πρόθυμος εἰμὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἵνα καὶ μέλος μου δῷ, ἵνα σε μόνον κερδήσω.

345 Κουδούγερος· Ὁπερ εἴπον ἐξαρχῆς τοῦτο λέγω καὶ νῦν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ οὐ δύναμαι διμιλεῖν, ἴδιώτης ὁν, καὶ ὑπαγε καλῶς, μεταμέλομαι δὲ καὶ ὅσον ἐποίησα.

Χριστιανός· Καὶ ἔσται ἡ ὁδός σου λοιπὸν σκότος καὶ ὀλίσθημα, καὶ ἄγγελος Κυρίου καταδιώξει σε, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ψεῦδος ἀντὶ τῆς ἀληθείας προέκρινας, καὶ τὸ

350 σκότος ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτός.

CORRECTION OF THE EASTER COMPUTUS:
HERESY OR NECESSITY?
FOURTEENTH CENTURY BYZANTINE FORERUNNERS
OF THE GREGORIAN REFORM

INTRODUCTION: CALENDAR PROBLEM IN CHRISTIAN WORLD

The difference between the Catholic and the Orthodox (Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox as well) calculations of the main Christian feast, Easter, is nowadays one of the most obvious points of disagreement between the Christian Churches. In Russia, where the Church continues to use the old Julian calendar, this peculiarity is often interpreted as an important part of the Orthodox tradition and its alteration is considered a deviation and heresy. This attitude goes back to the reaction of the Greek Orthodox world to the famous calendar reform introduced in 1582 by the bull *Inter gravissimas* of Pope Gregory XIII. That year, three Orthodox Patriarchs issued in Constantinople a synodal *sigillion* that severely concluded: «Whoever does not follow the customs of the Church as the Seven Holy Ecumenical Councils decreed, and Holy Easter, and the Calendar with which they did well in making it a law that we should follow it, and wishes to follow the newly-invented *Paschalion* and the New Calendar of the godless astronomers of the Pope, and opposes all those things and wishes to overthrow and destroy the dogmas and customs of the Church which have been handed down by our fathers, let him suffer anathema and be put out of the Church of Christ and out of the Congregation of the Faithful»¹.

Indeed, the Calendar and Easter question is one of the oldest problems of the Christian world. Already in the second century it was at the centre of the polemic between Roman and Asian Churches, which claimed to be observing the genuine apostolic tradition. A great number of calendars coexisted in Hellenistic and early Roman times in different

¹ The English translation published electronically at www.orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/prot_rc_heresy.aspx, accessed 27 December 2009.

regions of the Mediterranean, and in the Greek Orient nearly every large city had its own system of time reckoning. During the first centuries of Christianity the Christian *computus* (as Easter tables are usually called), deriving from the Hebrew lunisolar calendar, was being accommodated to the calendar of the Roman World, introduced by Julius Caesar, which had no connection with the Moon at all. The additional difficulty was the need to coordinate the Easter date with the first day of the week, Sunday.

After a rather long period of discordance, when many regional calendars and *computus* traditions coexisted in different Churches, the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (325) took measures to coordinate the celebration of the main Christian feast. The task was appointed by the Emperor Constantine the Great himself, who had been displeased by the absence of unity among Christians in his Empire. Nevertheless the decisions of the Council of Nicaea were far from definitive. In the 4th and 5th centuries Christians in the East and the West celebrated Easter at different dates in several instances. It does not, however, look like a burning problem in our sources. The real difficulties began only when the difference concerned the main sees, such as Rome and Alexandria, as was the case in A.D. 444 and 455. The Roman Church faced the necessity to leave behind the old Roman *computus*, the 84-year cycle. It was not an easy decision for Pope Leo the Great, who was very concerned about the authority of the see of St Peter. The attempt was undertaken to construct a new western *computus* where the accuracy of the 19-year cycle was compatible with the old Roman Easter tradition. But the task, which was commissioned to the Gaul computist Victorius of Aquitania, was too complicated to be resolved successfully, and already in the next century the Roman Church accepted the classical type of the 19-year cycle – the Alexandrian one, which was known in the West as the *computus* of St Cyril. It was translated into Latin and continued till A.D. 626 by Dionysius Exiguus, and the account of the years from the *Incarnation Domini* in his Easter table, which Dionysius for some reason began from the year which we call now A.D. 1 – is nowadays the most common dating system the world over².

The success of the Dionysian era was the result of the slow but inevitable process of calendar unification, which started in the time of

² For the so called Dionysian problem see: A.A. MOSSHAMMER, *The Easter Computus and the Origins of the Christian Era*, Oxford 2008 (Oxford Early Christian Studies). Cf. also my review in *Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета. Серия: Богословие. Философия* 4 (28) (2009), pp. 66–74.

Caesar. The first step in this way was the Julian calendar that became the common dating system in the Late Antique world. This calendar, with some regional variations, was for many centuries common to all Christian communities even after the schisms of the fifth and the sixth centuries and the collapse of the Eastern Roma Empire in the seventh century. The next step in the unification was the Alexandrian *computus* – a lunisolar calendar system, constructed in the third century by the famous Alexandrian scientist Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, on the basis of the Julian calendar and the classical 19-year cycle of Methon the Athenian. The main idea of this important invention consists in the fact, that the combination of the 19-year cycle with the Julian year generates a cycle with 19 solar years = 235 lunar months = 6939,75 days. This equation is the same as in the 76-year cycle of Callippus – one of the most accurate lunisolar cycles of Antiquity. Its accuracy is rather high: one day in 312 years for lunar phases (instead of one day in 62 years in Methon's cycle) and for the tropical year – one day in 128 years (just as in the Julian calendar; in Methon one day in 48 years already)³.

The Alexandrian cycle was not the sole type of the Julian *enneadekaëteris*, but the most respected one. All other variants, invented from the fourth to the seventh centuries (e.g. the *cyclus lunaris* of Dionysius' table, the cycle of Heron in the sixth century, the cycle of *Chronicon Paschale*), had to accept the Alexandrian set of Passover full moons. The only exception was the Armenian *computus* (mid-sixth century), but its peculiarity comes to nothing more than a sole date – April 6 instead of Alexandrian April 5. This discrepancy is relevant for the Easter date four times in 532 years (with periods of 95, 95, 95, 247 years). Such occurrence became invariably a subject of fierce polemics between Armenians and other Christians, from A.D. 570 onward. The most important feature of this polemics is that Armenians were obliged to defend their date not only against «the curved Easter» (*tsra zatik'*) of Orthodox Greeks and Georgians, traditionally treated by them as «Chalcedonian Nestorians», but against their brothers-in-confession Copts and Ethiopians, firm adherents of the Alexandrian tradition⁴.

³ E. SCHWARTZ, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln*, Berlin 1905; Д.А. ЛЕБЕДЕВ, *Из истории древних пасхальных циклов*, in *Византийский временник* 18 (1911) [1913], pp. 148–389; B. KRUSCH, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie: Die Entstehung unserer heutige Zeitrechnung*, Berlin 1938.

⁴ П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ - Р.А. ПАНЧЕНКО, «Кривые Пасхи» и Благодатный Огонь в исторической ретроспективе, in *Вестник Московского университета*, серия 13, 4 (2006), pp. 3–29.

At the opposite part of the Christian world Britain and Ireland were another camp of «calendar dissidents». The Irish were the last to give up the old Roman 84-year Easter *computus* in the eighth century, while the rest of the Christian world from Gaul to Mesopotamia was already employing the much more accurate 19-year cycle. Thereby, the Calendar controversy was in no way a new matter for Christian communities. Nor was it strictly tied with any confessional, ethnic, or cultural rivalry.

SCIENTIFIC AND RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS

The Alexandrian *computus*, based on the 19-year lunisolar cycle, was the most accurate among the practically oriented calendar systems of Antiquity. More punctual astronomical periods, such as the 304 year cycle of Hipparchus, could not be applied to calendar tasks. The full Easter *computus* has to take into account not only the dates of full moons, but also weekdays, and so it forms a combination of the lunisolar, the week, and the Julian bissextus periods. For the 19-year cycle it means the full period of 532 years – a rather long table to be written and copied for practical use. The more convenient variant was a matrix with two cycles – 19-year «lunar» and 28-year «solar» (in fact the weekday cycle). The use of such a tool was not very complicated, and any educated cleric was able to determine the date of Easter – even having no idea of the real astronomical and mathematical structure of the system as a whole.

With all its accuracy and convenience, the Christian *enneadekaëteris* was far from being perfect. Every 128 years the real date of the vernal equinox moved one day off from March 21 – the equinoctial limit of the Alexandrian *computus*. However, such an error was not easily noticeable, as opposed to the apparent mistake in the lunar phases. The Passover dates of the Easter tables (*XIV lunaे*, νοικήν πάσχα, фаска жидомъ) slowly but surely drew back from the real full moons, one day in 312 years approximately. Therefore, the divergence was to be noticed in the seventh century, when this period had elapsed from the inception of the Alexandrian Easter table about A.D. 300. From the tenth century the moon error was already two days, and till the fourteenth century it reached a full three days – an inaccuracy too big to be ignored. So, the problem of the calendar reform was put on the agenda.

In the Middle Ages the Christians in Byzantium and Europe were not alone in their attention to the full moons. The Jews, as many centuries before, were celebrating their festivals according to the lunisolar

calendar, with the Passover in the evening from the 14th to 15th day of the lunar month of Nisan. We have very little knowledge about the early history of the Rabbinic calendar, but it can be taken for sure that in the tenth century the Jewish communities used the modern calendar system⁵. The Jewish calendar is based on the lunar period of Hipparchus-Ptolemy: 29 days 12 hours 793 *kh^alakim* (44 min. 3 1/3 sec.). It is a very precise parameter, with the error reaching one day only after more than 13.670 years. The Muslims in neighbouring countries also were attentive to the moon, and the Muslim scientists acquainted with the Christian *computus* did not miss the opportunity to deride its inferiority⁶. So, the problem of the *computus* error was not purely scientific, it obviously reflected on the authority of Christian religion.

The lunar correction was made by Byzantines both effectively and simply. Instead of the *epactae* (the age of the moon on the eve of the New Year) the *themelia* («foundations») were introduced as the basic phase of the moon. In the eleventh century the *themelion* of a year was one day more than the classical *epactae*, and in the fourteenth century it had reached three days. By this operation the age of the Moon was counted more or less correctly. Of course, it was not quite a legal operation: the Passover «full moon» could be found not as the 14th or 15th day of the moon's phase, as it should be, but the 16th, 17th and 18th day. However, any inaccuracy at this point doesn't play a sufficient role in the determination of the Easter date, because in any event it is to be postponed till the nearest Sunday several days later. As the prominent Byzantine canonist of the fourteenth century Matthew Blastares says, «this anomaly about the day of *Pascha*, caused by the time and by the course of planets, causes no harm to the piety at all, but increases its eminence: for hereof the divergence between *Pascha* of the Law (*i.e.* Passover) and our (*i.e.* the Easter) becomes even more evident»⁷.

From the theoretical point of view, the error of the vernal equinox was much more serious. This point of the solar orbit, where the Sun enters the Zodiac sign of Aries, from the middle of the third century was

⁵ S. STERN, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar*, 2nd c. BCE-10th c. CE, Oxford 2001.

⁶ E.g. AL-BĪRŪNĪ, *Āthār al-Bākiya* 16 [АВУРЕЙХАН БИРУНИ, *Избранные произведения*, I, Ташкент 1957, p. 341] (the edition and translation of E. Sachau has a *lacuna* at this place).

⁷ MATTHAIOS BLASTARES, *Syntagma alphabeticum* (*s.v.* Πάσχα): G. RHALLES – M. POTLES, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ λερῶν κανόνων*, VI, Athens 1859, p. 408.

considered by Christian authors as the natural limit of the year⁸. The foundations for such a view lie not only in the ancient astronomic tradition, but in the Bible itself, where the month of Passover is regularly called the *first* month of the year⁹. If a full Moon fits before the equinox, this lunar month can not be regarded as the month of Passover, so the festival has to be postponed till the next full Moon. The problem was that nobody knew the exact date of the vernal equinox. In Late Antiquity there were several opinions about its date:

- March 25 (common to the Latin West till the end of the fourth century, *e.g.* in the African treatise *De solstitia et aequinoctia*);
- March 24 (attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea by later Syrian authors and to the Phrygian Montanists by Sozomenus in the fifth century);
- March 22 (the date obtained empirically by the famous astronomer Claudius Ptolemy in A.D. 140, is accepted in the fourth century by the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* and Epiphanius of Cyprus);
- March 21 (the earliest possible Passover full Moon in the Alexandrian *enneadekaëteris*).

While the Alexandrian cycle was becoming the most reverend variant of Easter *computus*, the last date strengthened its status as the common date of the vernal equinox in the Christian tradition. It was accepted in the Greek East by Andrew of Byzantium (353), Theophilus of Alexandria (390), the unknown author of the *Chronicon Paschale* (630); in the Latin West by Dionysius Exiguus (525) and Beda Venerabilis (c. 700). Moreover, in spite of the fact that the real point of the vernal equinox did move to March 20 already in A.D. 300–500 (and then to March 19 in A.D. 500–600 and so on to March 13 in the 14th century), there is no trace of distrust about its correctness in the Middle Byzantine sources. All the authors, from John the Damascene in the eighth century to Michael Psellos in the eleventh, regard March 21 as an adequate date of the vernal equinox in their astronomical treatises.

More scrupulous were the Oriental Christians. As early as c. 700 Jacob of Edessa deals with the one-day mistake accumulated «in so many years» and suggests a simple decision: to take one bissextile year as an ordinary one thus missing one day¹⁰. Symeon Barkaya, a Syrian author of

⁸ DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS apud EUSEBIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica* VII, 20.

⁹ Ex 12,18; 23,15; Lev 23,5; Num 9,1–3; 28,16–17; Deut 16,1.

¹⁰ ELIAS NISIBENUS, *Opus chronologicum* II: ELIAE METROPOLITAE NISIBENI *Opus*

uncertain date (not later than A.D. 800), states, that «we Syrians have the equinox on the 19th day of Adār» (March 19)¹¹. The account of Jacob is done according to Ptolemy (one day mistake in 300 years), while that of Symeon corresponds more to the Jewish lunisolar calendar, where the values of the vernal *t'kupa de-Rav-'Ada* (the Hebrew term for solstices according to the fourth century *amora Ada bar Ahawa*) are as follows: March 20 for A.D. 250-550; March 19 for A.D. 550-850; March 18 for A.D. 850-1150 and so on.

The next step in determining the precise date of the equinox is represented by the chronological treatise of Elias Bar Shinaya, Metropolitan of Nisibis (A.D. 1016). Elias, who lived in the epoch of scientific blossoming in the Islamic world, was competent enough to compute a more precise length of the solar year (365,25 days without 24/110 of a day, resulting in a one-day mistake in 775 years), and consequently quite a reliable date of the vernal equinox for his time – March 15.

For centuries the Byzantine scientists were obedient followers of Ptolemy's reception of the classical system of Hipparchus. As far as it is seen from Byzantine astronomical and astrological texts, even the knowledge of Ptolemy and his continuator Theon of Alexandria was not really thorough. The next step of the scientific research in this field, made by the Muslim authors, remained out of sight of Byzantine scholars for a long time. There were, of course, exceptions, and already in the eleventh century we have treatises with comparison of Ptolemy's data with «modern» scientists (*neoteroi*), *i.e.* Arabian astronomers of the ninth and tenth centuries¹². But only in the fourteenth century the Byzantine astronomy has known a real resurgence, from the entirely «classical» work of Theodor Metochites (*Στοιχεώσις ἀστρονομική*, 1316-1317) to the wide-range reception of the Oriental astronomic tradition by Chioniades and his school¹³.

The appearance in the fourteenth century of scholars who were considered experts in astronomy, and were well respected for their scientific knowledge in the Late Byzantine society, made the problem of the accuracy of the Christian *computus* one of the items of public disputations.

chronologicum. Pars posterior, ed. et interpr. I.-B. CHABOT, Parisiis-Lipsiae 1909-1910 (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 62-63; Scriptores Syri, 22, 24), pp. 52-53 (textus), 74 (versio).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111 (textus), 119 (versio).

¹² See A. TIHON, *Tables islamiques à Byzance*, in *Byzantion* 60 (1990), pp. 401-425.

¹³ See D. PINGREE, *Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964), pp. 135-160.

DISCUSSION OF THE REFORM

One of the most ambitious figures among the Late Byzantine scholars was Nicephorus Gregoras¹⁴. A pupil of Theodor Metochites, he was very proud of his learning in astronomy, and was able to compute the solar eclipse of July 16, 1330¹⁵. About 1324, Gregoras, then 35 years old, presented to his patron emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus a project of the *computus* reform. The main feature of Gregoras' plan was a two-day shift of the Passover dates of the classical 19-year list (*canonion*): March 31 - March 20 - April 8 - March 28 and so on, instead of April 2 - March 22 - April 10 - March 30...¹⁶. This project and the story of it in Gregoras' *Historia Romana*¹⁷ gives rise to a lot of questions. First of all, Gregoras considers as the main problem of the Christian *computus* the false date of the equinox, March 21 instead of March 17¹⁸. His reasoning, however, is inconsistent at this point: at first he gives different dates according to Ptolemy, but then skips to March 17, arguing, that he has made it more exact (ἔγωγε αὐτὸς ἐξακριβώσας εὗρον) – probably, under the Jewish influence. Then he unexpectedly states that the mistake of the equinox can be easily corrected by the rejection of two days, so his variant of *canonion* fixes the earliest Passover on March 19. Gregoras' reform was received benevolently by the old emperor, who found it impossible however to introduce it into practice. «It would be uneasy – he said – to inform simultaneously all our compatriots in every mainland and island, and to convince them to be retrained. But any disagreement in the Easter celebration is undesirable. So, it is more convenient to leave it as it was heretofore». This opinion of a conservative politician displeased the ambitious scholar, who considered it to be quite possible to convince all citizens during two or three years, «as it was often done in ancient times»¹⁹.

The critical appraisal of Gregoras' project appears in the authoritative Byzantine lexicon of the canonical law, written in 1337 by Matthew Blastares²⁰. He paid attention to the Easter calculations, giving an expla-

¹⁴ See on him in general *PLP* 4443.

¹⁵ J. MOGENET – A. TIHON – R. ROYEZ – A. BERG, *Nicéphore Grégoras. Calcul de l'éclipse de Soleil du 16 juillet 1330*, Amsterdam 1983.

¹⁶ PG 19, coll. 1313–1316; cf. V. GRUMEL, *La chronologie*, Paris 1958, p. 55, tab. xv.

¹⁷ NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Historia VIII*, 13 [NICEPHORI GREGORAE BYZANTINA *historia*, cura L. SCHOPENI, I, Bonnae 1829 (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae), pp. 364–372].

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

²⁰ See on him *PLP* 2808.

nation of the inaccuracy of the traditional *computus* in relation to the moon, as well as the date of the vernal equinox. Blastares explains the mistake of the Easter *computus* in respect of the moon (one day in 304 years) by the anomaly of the movements of the «Great Lights»; he compiled very scrupulous tables of the lunar phases according to the mean lunation of 29 d. 31' 50'' 9''' (in Ptolemy – 31' 50'' 8''' 20''')²¹. He receives the solar year length of 365,25 days without a 1/300 (according to Ptolemy), so every 300 years the date of the equinox steps back in the Roman calendar. The table in the book gives the dates of the vernal equinox through about 2700 years – from the year of the world 4156 (1353 B.C.) with the date March 27, till 6856 (A.D. 1348) with March 18²². So, Matthew Blastares is aware of the inaccuracy of the traditional *computus* in relation to the moon and to the equinox, but he is sure that there is no reason to alter the *canonion* of the Fathers, because it is impossible to invent another system more precise and equally handy. Blastares mentions the project of skipping two days from the *canonion* beginning with the year 6841 (A.D. 1332/3), i.e. that of Nicephorus Gregoras, and reasonably argues that it can not avoid the accumulation of new error, but «will be hospitable to the excessive disturbance in the Church». What's more, he says that the error of the old *computus* is irrelevant to the main canonic prescriptions about Easter, but automatically moves away the Christian feast from the Jewish one, which is far from being regrettable²³.

The next person who dealt with the problem of the *computus* is Isaac Argyros in his treatise addressed to Andronicus Oenaeotes (1372)²⁴. A pupil of Gregoras, Argyros looks like a more competent astronomer than his teacher: he is not only acquainted with Persian scientists, but has personally observed the summer solstice «during a lot of days»²⁵. The error of the Roman year calculated by Isaac is «a little more than one hundredth of a day» – much more precise than Ptolemy's calculation and about the real value (1/128). In his treatise Isaac speaks a lot about the inaccuracy of the traditional *canonion*, that compels Christians to cele-

²¹ MATTHAIOS BLASTARES: RHALLES – POTLES, *Σύνταγμα* cit., pp. 417-418 (with several mistakes).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 424.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 424-425.

²⁴ On Isaac see PLP 1285.

²⁵ See A. TIHON, *Astronomie byzantine à l'aube de la Renaissance (de 1352 à la fin du XV^e siècle)*, in *Byzantion* 66 (1996), pp. 244-280.

brate Easter «not at the proper time», and mentions with respect Gregoras' «new *canonion*», which «was welcomed by the emperor, the senate and the select men of the Church»²⁶. But then he suddenly apologises, stating that he had no intention to condemn the inventors of the traditional Easter table, so «let my foes not move their calumniating tongues». The only task of his work, he says, is to demonstrate the impossibility of avoiding temporal errors by means of a *canonion*.

So, we can guess that there were people who would be ready to accuse Argyros (who was at the same time an active antipalamite) of the blasphemy of the Fathers, a kind of «calendar heresy». And he had to be careful enough to make a brilliant display of his knowledge, but not to propose any novelty.

A curious note about the correction of the *computus* is interpolated in the same treatise of Isaac Argyros. Some anonymous reader in the year 1411 inserted into the text the following optimistic comment:

If, according to the belief of many people, it will be the end of all things at the end of the year 7000, there is no purpose to find out the method of correction of the lunar years, when only 81 years are left to use this method: for in these 81 years no significant difference will occur, even if those who will then live will use the old uncorrected method. But if the time of the end is indefinite, as some people think, and I join them, it would be appropriate to correct the method of the lunar *computus* and to add the epactae of the moon to those of the modern method, and so not to deviate from the rightness²⁷.

There were also several other late Byzantine treatises on the problem of the Easter *computus*, but we have no opportunity to analyze them here²⁸. Indeed, they can be regarded as a good example of the ideological transformation from the Christian Middle Ages to the Modern times.

²⁶ ISAAC ARGYROS, *Ad Cœnæotem dominum Andronicum, qui ratione traditas methodos postularat solis ac lunæ cyclorum, et eorum quæ ex his consequuntur*. PG 19, col. 1313.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 1309.

²⁸ Cf. O. SCHISSEL, *Die Osterrechnung des Nikolaos Artabasdos Rhabdas*, in *Byzantisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 14 (1937–1938), pp. 43–59; A. TIHON, *Il trattato sulla data della Pasqua di Barlaam comparato con quello di Niceforo Gregoras*, in *Barlaam Calabro: l'uomo, l'opera, il pensiero*, ed. A. FYRIGOS, Roma 1999, pp. 109–118; A. RIGO, *Gli interessi astronomici del cardinal Bessarione*, in *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, [catalogue of the exhibition: Venice 1994], ed. G. FIACCADORI, Napoli 1994, pp. 105–117.

CONCLUSION

The Byzantine authors to whom the fallacy of the traditional *computus* was a fact conclude that, as a result, the Christians often celebrate Easter at «wrong» dates. The main problem is here the violation of the Old Testament prescription about «the first month of the year», when Passover should be celebrated. But in fact, nowhere in the Bible can one find the exact date of the beginning of the year. In fact, the idea to fix the starting point of the solar cycle in the spring equinox and the beginning of the Aries is little more than pure speculation. The old Egyptian calendar had no fixed starting point in the solar year and wandered through the seasons. The Muslim lunar calendar pays no attention to the sun at all. The Jewish calendar with respect to the sun is not much more accurate than the Roman year: its solstice points move off from the real tropics one day every 216 years. What's more, in the Rabbinic tradition it is not the spring equinox, but the autumnal one that is considered to be *Rosh ha-shana* (the head of the year), and Passover is celebrated by modern Jews not in the first, but in the seventh lunar month. Nicephorus Gregoras says about the religious meaning of the inaccuracy of the Easter computing only that «the consequences of such an error are clear to everybody». This general phrase exposes the absence of a serious argumentation in favor of the reform of the *computus*.

The goal of any reform is a desire to improve. But what is the main quality of a calendar, religious or civic? Any calendar is a mathematical system invented to describe the main astronomic phenomena – day, month, and year. These planetary movements can not be described within each other through simple numbers, and the main art is to obtain a fraction that would combine exactness with applicability. In this respect the Julian *enneadekaäteris* is undoubtedly one of the best creations of the mathematical genius.

What's more, every attempt to improve and to correct the calendar provokes a tide of social discontent, because stability is one of the main qualities of any general system, like a calendar. The real necessity in the calendar reform never occurs from practical, scientific, or ritual reasons. The reason can be only political, when some social force needs to demonstrate its might and influence on the life of millions of people. The mightiest system consumes old and different variants, or marginalizes them. The resistance often looks like a struggle between tradition and innovation, and this was the case of the Orthodox reaction to «Gregorian heresy». But the Byzantine case was much simpler. It was nothing

more than an attempt made by certain intellectuals to demonstrate their profound competence in astronomy, and has neither political nor ecclesiastical interest.

As can be seen from the texts, the calendar problem was not very topical for Byzantines even in the fourteenth century, when the inaccuracy of the traditional *computus* became obvious to all. The project of the correction was never considered as «heretical», but rejected because of unwillingness of the emperor to disturb society. In fact, there was no real necessity for a calendar reform from the religious point of view, and even the Byzantine intellectuals found it more suitable to maintain the old good system «of the Fathers».

PAVEL KUZENKOV

THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY, HERESY AND BYZANTINE ART: AN APPROACH

The subject of this work is the relationship between art and theological polemics, as well as heresies in the Byzantine Empire. Our purpose is to present an overview, not to make new discoveries; since the historiography of the issue is small, there are not many works especially devoted to this problem. After the middle of the last century, it became fashionable to explicitly link art with heretical movements; now this problem is analysed in a more sober way. The 1990s-early 2000s saw the publication of researches that showed art's response to actual theological controversies. This trend is represented by articles and books by L. Brubaker, C. Corrigan, V.D. Sarabyanov, A.M. Lidov, Ch. Konstantinidi¹.

Heresies exercised little impact on Byzantine art. Art exists according to its own laws, and this holds true also for Mediaeval art. It is not a mere illustration of theology, it is in itself a «theology in colour»; in our view, it is more accessible to ordinary people than academic theology. Moreover, the purpose of art is always to affirm, rather than to deny: hence the lack of polemics in Byzantine art which, on the contrary, aims to express the dogmas and ecclesiastical traditions through deep and rich formal symbolism.

1. Little is known about the art of heretical movements. Monophysites-Armenians abandoned early on figurative art on the walls of churches, mainly under the Arab influence (though they created a wonderful tradition of book illumination), as did the Nestorians-Syrians. Monophysites-Ethiopians have established a very original and primitive artistic style of their own.

There are surviving examples of the art of the Arians in Ravenna, commissioned by the Ostrogothic ruler of Ravenna Theodoric; however, they were apparently made by Orthodox mosaicists. The great composi-

¹ References see below; also see *Byzanz: die Macht der Bilder*, hrsg. von M. BRANDT - A. EFFENBERGER, Hildesheim 1998.

tion with the figures of the Arians, showing Theodoric, his wife and their retinue, was once represented on the walls of the Basilica of Sant’Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. The Ostrogothic ruler of Ravenna, his wife and their court were represented going out respectively from the palace and the harbour of Ravenna. The procession moved toward Christ and the Virgin (on the northern and southern walls of the basilica’s central nave). The only surviving sections of this scene show Theodoric’s palace (in the background of the columns traces of hands stretched out in prayer are still visible) the Ravenna harbour, and Christ and the Virgin with angels. The figures of the Arians were replaced by processions of male and female martyrs ca. mid-6th century, just after the Byzantines reconquered Ravenna. A great cycle of miracles and the Passion of Christ (above the windows of the clerestory), as well as figures of prophets and apostles, have been preserved from the beginning of the 6th century in the upper part of the central nave. Nothing specifically Arian remains in the decoration of the Arian Baptistry in Ravenna, decorated by Orthodox mosaicists during Theoderic’s reign (the turn of the 5th-6th centuries). The same artistic style is visible in other ensembles in Ravenna, created by order of the Orthodox at that time; an example is found in the Archbishop’s Chapel, commissioned by Ravenna’s bishop Peter II.

Iconoclasm may be said to have created its specific art, about which we are informed by written sources, though there is also a small amount of iconoclastic monumental decoration. From contemporary texts, in particular from the Life of St. Stephen the Younger, we know that in the church of the Blachernae, one of the main centres dedicated to the Virgin, iconoclasts destroyed the New Testament cycle, and populated the walls with «trees, flowers, various birds and other animals surrounded by ivy, among which swarmed cranes, crows and peacocks». Thus, the church «was turned into a vegetable warehouse (a kitchen-garden) and aviary (bird exhibition)»².

Among the few examples of iconoclastic art we find mostly abstract symbols – crosses: *e.g.*, the big cross in the conch of the apse of the church of St. Irene (Divine Peace) in Constantinople. An interesting example of an immediate Orthodox alteration of the iconoclasts’ decoration existed until the 1920s in the church of the Dormition at Nicaea, where an iconoclastic cross in the conch of the apse was replaced by the image of the Virgin just in the 8th century, probably in the interval

² Б.Н. ЛАЗАРЕВ, *История византийской живописи*, I, Москва 1986, p. 54.

between two periods of iconoclasm (after the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787). The artist inscribed it thus, mentioning the name of the donor: «Naukratios confirms the divine images». Iconoclastic ideas are inherently represented in the mosaic images of six Ecumenical Councils on the walls of the north aisle of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, created before the official start of iconoclasm, between 680 and 724⁴. The frieze with a large cross in the centre preserves the images of the Councils of Sardica and of Antiochia, as well as traces of the Ancyra Council. Each Council is separated from the successive one by decorative chandeliers. Instead of the assembly of bishops, there is a picture of the throne with the Gospel under the arcades, on each side of this throne are laid out crosses and the Council statements⁵.

If we address the aniconic (non-figurative) mosaics by Greek artists, commissioned by the Arab caliphs Abd al-Malik and Walid I in the Omayyad Mosque in Damascus at 705–711, and in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, at 691–692, we may be able to imagine to some extent the lost iconoclastic decoration. There are trees, streams and buildings, but no human or animal figures. Similar mosaics might have decorated church walls at the time of iconoclasm. Human figures are present in the period of iconoclasm only in the flourishing secular art strongly influenced by the Orient, and mainly in the palaces. Their subject matter varies: scenes of military battles, emperors' feats, amusements, animals, fruits, garlands, gorgeous ornaments, etc. An oriental spirit of luxury and bliss, borrowed from the caliphs of Damascus and Baghdad, inspired even some of the buildings in the Great Palace, built by the emperor Theophilus in the first half of the 9th century: the Hall of Love, the Bed-chamber of Harmony and the Pearl Triclinium⁶.

The remains of entire decorative church programmes have survived only in the remote periphery of the Byzantine Empire: in several churches on the island of Naxos in the Aegean Sea. In the church of Aghia Kyriaki near Apirantos, in the conch of the apse, we see remains of a large image of the cross in a circle and under it figures of birds and fish pointing to the centre: according to a theory, the birds replaced the

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵ Ch. WALTER, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine*, Paris 1970, pp. 75–77, 268–270 (the text of councils' decisions).

⁶ ЛАЗАРЕВ, *История византийской живописи* cit., pp. 55.

apostles. The other parts of the church were decorated with ornaments⁷. Simple decorative motifs adorn the Church of St. John the Theologos in Adisaru and St. Artemios⁸. In several churches we find remains of crosses: the church of the Virgin Protothroni in Halki, St. Demetrios near Chalandra⁹ and others. Iconoclastic paintings in Naxos are usually dated to the first half of the 9th century.

Another region where iconoclastic monuments are preserved is Cappadocia. However, Catherine Jolivet-Levy supposed that only two churches could be dated back to that epoch: the church in Kurt Dere and the church of St. Basil in the Gömede valley. Their decoration is definitely iconoclastic: in Kurt Dere we see a typical set of iconoclastic characters, such as trees and the cross; in the church of St. Basil three crosses inscribed in medallions bear the inscriptions «Abraham, Isaac, Jacob», indicating that the crosses stand for the Old Testament Patriarchs; that was possible only in the iconoclastic period¹⁰. Churches were quite often decorated with primitive ornaments, crosses, and the imitation of masonry; this type of decoration is widespread in the area of Cappadocia, and it is ascribed to the iconoclastic period. However, this assumption is incorrect. The ornate Cross was one of the most common motifs in the decoration of Cappadocian churches at all times from early Byzantium. E.g., one can see the crosses in relief in the church of the Three Crosses (Haçlı Kilise) in the valley of Kızıl-Çukur¹¹, or a painting with the glorified cross in the church No. 5 in Gülü-Dere, as well as paintings in other chapels in several valleys¹². Cappadocian churches were decorated thus from the 8th till the 11th century, usually immediately after construction, if renowned artists were not available. Some of these churches contain figurative compositions in the same «primitive» style, which give us a proof of this theory (as an example one can see the Church of St. Barbara in Göreme, 11th century)¹³. As a rule, very soon after their creation these elementary

⁷ M. CHATZIDAKIS [a. o.], *Nάξος*, Athens 1989, pp. 58–61.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50–57, 58–59, 64–65.

⁹ A list of iconoclastic churches of Naxos *ibid.*, p. 53. At Protothroni the crosses under vaults in the are from the second layer of painting, first halft of IX century (*ibid.*, pp. 37, 42, 48). About St. Demetrios near Chalandra see G. MASTOROPOULOS, *Naxos. Byzantine monuments*, Athens 2007, pp. 232–237.

¹⁰ C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *L'arte della Cappadocia*, Milano 2001, pp. 38–39.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹² See *ibid.*, p. 35.

¹³ G. DE JERPHANION, *Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, II/1, Paris 1936, pp. 324–326. Other examples of painted crosses inside of figurative decoration of different epochs in JOLIVET-LÉVY, *L'arte della Cappadocia* cit., pp. 36–37.

murals were covered with «professional» frescoes (as, e.g., in the New Tokali Church at Göreme, the middle of the 10th century)¹⁴.

The «Christians», heretics widespread in the South of the Balkans in the middle and later Byzantine periods, left their tombs in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁵. These gravestones represent the only surviving examples of their art (ca. 50 000 such monuments are known): the earliest ones date back to the end of the 12th century, and they were erected until the 16th century. The reliefs of the sarcophagi show images etched in a primitive style. The reliefs depict daily activities: hunting, dances and battles. On the tombstones images of the sun and moon often appear as symbols of the universe's two fundamental principles. There are reliefs with a human figure crossing its open-palmed hands in front of the chest (in Byzantine art, this gesture is called «the adoption of grace» – here it may designate a prayer or burial posture, or a rejection of the world).

2. Byzantine art reflected the reaction to heresies and the Council decrees against them. The Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, where the term Theotokos, «God-Bearer», was defended, entailed the genesis of the iconography of the Enthroned Mother of God. This image, promoted by imperial iconography, emphasized the greatness of the God-bearing Virgin. Early mariological series on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome¹⁶, executed in the 430s, present Her repeated image attired in a marked courtly fashion, although the clothes could not be said to be those of an empress, but of a court lady, probably a Roman matron from the beginning of the 5th century. The Virgin Mary is clad in this fashion in all episodes of the cycle: the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi on the left side of the triumphal arch, the Presentation and Flight into Egypt on the right side. Recent studies suggest the reconstruction of the lost image of the Enthroned Virgin and Child in the conch of the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore. The very name of the church should be mentioned: for the first time it was dedicated to the Virgin. In due course the veneration of the Virgin in Rome would intensify; this fact would soon be evident in the iconography of «Maria

¹⁴ Both layers are visible in the New Church of Tokali. See JOLIVET-LÉVY, *L'arte della Cappadocia* cit., pp. 114, 119, ill. 27, 33.

¹⁵ O. BIHALJI-MERIN – A. BENAC, *Steine der Bogomilen*, Wien-München 1964.

¹⁶ M. ANDALORO, *L'orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini*, 312–468, Milano 2006 (La pittura medievale a Roma. Corpus, 1), pp. 343–345.

Regina» (the Queen): the earliest surviving example is a fresco from the church of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome (6th century), where the Virgin, clad in the imperial loros and crown, sits on a throne. The Virgin's image as «Regina» became extremely popular in the West, especially in Rome (a great number of images are known to have followed this iconographic style).

Perhaps the iconoclasm provoked the next significant reaction to heresy in art. The most famous example are the polemical miniatures in the Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istorijeskij Muzej, Khludov 1294) set up apparently in mid-9th century, probably in the Studios monastery in Constantinople – a stronghold of iconodules¹⁷. Four miniatures of the manuscript directly reflect the controversy of iconodules with iconoclasts. The miniature in Psalm 25,5 represents the patriarch Nicephorus holding an icon in his hand, and iconoclasts putting an icon in a vat of lime; in the thumbnail related to Ps. 68,22 Ianis and Bishop Anthony of Sylaion, defiling icons the same way iconoclasts did, are likened to those who crucified Christ. The illustration to Psalm 51,9 shows the apostle Peter flouting Simon the Magus and the Patriarch Nicephorus flouting the iconoclastic patriarch John Grammaticus; there is an evident comparison between the two pairs, and coins are scattered around both couples. Alongside Psalm 36,35 is a depiction of John Grammaticus with bristling hair, holding a bag of money¹⁸. Miniatures of this kind are visible in other 9th century Psalters of monastic production: London, British Library, Add. 19.352 (A.D. 1066), and Vatican City, Vatican Library, Barb. gr. 372. In the «Hamilton Psalter» (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 9) the miniature to Ps. 25,9 shows the overthrow of John Grammaticus at the Council of 843. In the Psalter of the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos, the iconoclastic Council of 815 is connected to Ps. 25,5¹⁹. In the marginal illustrations of the Psalters one can also find scenes of a dispute with the heretics: e.g., in the London Psalter St. Spiridon is depicted discussing with the Arians²⁰.

¹⁷ И.Е. Лозовая - Б.Л. Фонкич, *О происхождении Хлудовской Псалтири, в Древнерусское искусство. Искусство рукописной книги. Византия. Древняя Русь*, Санкт-Петербург 2004, pp. 7-18.

¹⁸ М.В. Щепкина, *Миниатюры Хлудовской Псалтири*, Москва 1977, ff. 23v, 67r, 51v, 35v.

¹⁹ S. DUFRENNE, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 psautiers medievaux*, Paris 1978, Ps. 25; about visual polemics against the iconoclasts see K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, Cambridge 1992.

²⁰ WALTER, *L'iconographie* cit., fig. 121.

Speaking in broad terms, one should say that the creation of a new system of church decoration in the 9–11th centuries, and the formulation of the deeply spiritual style which rejected «antiquisation» in favour of more conventional and rigorous images, often emphasizing asceticism in the images of saints, was an orthodox «reaction» to the prohibitions of iconoclasm and the victory of iconodules²¹. In the most significant monuments of the 9th–11th centuries a significant place was given to individual images of saints, showing a particular regard to images after iconoclasm. As an example we should mention the decoration of St. Sophia and of the Katholikon of the monastery of Hosios Lukas in Phokis (ca. 1030–1040). There is a number of churches whose decoration is dominated by images of saints, e.g., as in the church of Yusuf Koç and Meryem Ana Kilise (the Chapel 33) in Göreme, Cappadocia (first half of the 11th century). Here are presented only one and four Gospel scenes – the rest is covered with images of saints²². The theme of the host of saints surrounding Christ and the Virgin exists as well as the Ekphraseis on church wall decorations painted in the period of the Patriarch Photius and the Emperor Leo the Wise²³. Never again church programmes would reach such levels of theological depth and thought as in the 9–12th centuries. Art truly became «theology in colour», meant to emphasise the ideas of Christianity in a beautiful and intensely symbolical form, very all-encompassing and not merely narrative as it was in Late Byzantium. This applies both to iconographic programs and to stylistic and imaginary aspects of this art. E.g., one can observe the decoration of St. Sophia in Kiev, the Mirož Monastery in Pskov (1142), Hosios Lukas in Phokis, Nerezi in Macedonia (1164), etc.

Another topic directly related to the heresies is the composition of Ecumenical Councils documented before iconoclastic time. When scenes from the Ecumenical Councils are first mentioned by narrative sources, their controversial nature is evident: Emperor Philippikos-Vardanes, an Armenian monothelite, before entering Constantinople in 711, ordered

²¹ See the articles of O.S. Popova, who described very well this type of Byzantine image: О.С. Попова, *Проблемы византийского искусства. Мозаики, фрески, иконы*, Москва 2006.

²² About the frescoes of Meryemana Kilise see JOLIVET-LÉVY, *L'arte della Capadoccia* cit., pp. 204–212, ill. 59–68.

²³ About the Byzantine ekphraseis see C. JOUANNO, *L'ekphrasis dans la littérature byzantine d'imagination*, Dissertation, Paris 1987; L. JAMES – R. WEBB, «To understand ultimate things and enter secret places»: *ekphrasis and art in Byzantium*, in *Art History* 14/1 (March 1991), pp. 1–17.

the destruction of the palace portrait of the anti-monothelitic Sixth Ecumenical Council, which had convened 30 years earlier (680–681). Vardanes then ordered to display the scenes of the first five Ecumenical Councils in the vault of Milion's gates. They were flanked by the figure of the emperor himself and the Patriarch Sergios, who had been convicted as a heretic²⁴. In 716 the Emperor Theodosios III ordered to restore the palace picture of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, which had been destroyed by Vardanes, and to put on the vault of the Milion a similar one²⁵. In 712 Pope Constantine I himself, as an answer to Vardanes' actions, ordered all Ecumenical Councils depicted in St. Peter's basilica in Rome. In 766–767 the same cycle was set up by Bishop Stephen in the narthex of the church of St. Peter in Naples²⁶. Finally, in 764 the Emperor Constantine V Kopronymos destroyed the cycle of the Councils in the vault of Milion gates, replacing it with hippodrome races and a portrait of his favourite charioteer²⁷. Thus, images of the Ecumenical Councils expressed the confession of faith.

The earliest images of the Ecumenical Councils are lost; a copy of the Roman or perhaps Constantinopolitan images is probably contained in the miniatures of the Carolingian manuscript Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, CLXV (late VIII–early IX century). Here a prominent place is accorded to the figure of the emperor in the halo²⁸. Under the figures of the holy fathers are depicted the heretics who rejected their writings. The remaining fragments of the above mentioned mosaic of Councils in the Nativity Church at Bethlehem date back to the early 8th century. Later they were painted over by the Crusaders' decoration on the same topic²⁹. Their peculiarity lies in the depiction not only of the Ecumenical but also of the local Councils of the 3rd–4th centuries: Carthage, Laodicea, Gangra, Sardika, Antiochia and Ancyra. The earliest surviving Byzantine image is a scene from the Second Ecumenical Council of 381 in the Paris Homilies of Gregory of Nazianz (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 510). The throne with the Gospel is depicted in the centre, and the emperor is shown sitting beside it, together with the

²⁴ Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, II, Rom-Wien 1994, p. 551; ЛАЗАРЕВ, *История византийской живописи* cit., p. 53.

²⁵ Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, II cit., p. 551.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ ЛАЗАРЕВ, *История византийской живописи* cit., p. 57.

²⁸ WALTER, *L'Iconographie* cit., pp. 50–55.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 75–77, fig. 35–36.

bishops³⁰. The miniature illustrates the Homily of St. Gregory on the subject, while in the lower section two heresiarchs are presented. The earliest image of the Councils is found in the monumental painting in St. Nicholas church at Myra dating about 1042: it depicts six Ecumenical Councils. Its artist used the archaic iconography with the Gospel on a central throne, and no image of the emperor³¹. The scenes of Ecumenical Councils were widely disseminated from the end of the 12th century (e.g., in the church of St. Cyril in Kiev), and they became especially popular in Late Byzantium. Christopher Walter counts 46 cycles from the 11th century. In addition to the main scene representing a particular Council, there are also various scenes that clarify its contents: the debate with the heretics³² (as in Dečani in Kosovo, 1335–1350; here every Ecumenical Council from the existing six features an accompanying illustration)³³; the Slaying of the heretics (e.g., shown while grasping the beard of one of the Monophysites at the Fourth Ecumenical Council, as represented in the SS. Peter and Paul church in Veliko Turnovo, Bulgaria, ca. 1230s)³⁴; the Taking of the cloths (for example those of Nestorius in Ferapontovo, by Dionysius, 1502)³⁵. In Turnovo, the scene of the First Ecumenical Council is accompanied by the Vision of Peter of Alexandria³⁶.

In Later Byzantium the artists began to focus on the figures of heresiarchs in such a scene as the Vision of Peter of Alexandria. The literary source of this occurrence is his Martyrdom, dated prior to the 9th century (at the end of the liturgy St. Peter notices the figure of the twelve-year-old Christ dressed in the torn linen kolobion. Peter asks: «Who tore your clothes?», and receives the answer: «Arius»)³⁷. In the scenes that literally illustrate this vision, Arius is depicted laying under the altar, e.g., in the monastery church of Manassia (Resava), Serbia (early 15th century). Sometimes we can see figures of heretics in scenes from the Last Judgment, in hell, as in the fresco of Snetogora Monastery in Pskov (1313). Here their names are all displayed: Macedonius, Severus, Arius, Nestorius, Origenus, Apollinarius of Laodicea, also Julian the Apostate, Bogomil,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 35–37.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119–120.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 111–113.

³³ В. МИЛАНОВИЋ, *Програм живописа у припрати*, in *Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана. Графа и студије*, Beograd 1995, p. 363, fig. 1–12.

³⁴ WALTER, *L'Iconographie* cit., fig. 117.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 103–105.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 38.

³⁷ See *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, VIII, cit., p. 175.

Diocletian, Prince Svatopolk the Cursed)³⁸. Heretics were thus presented also in the post-Byzantine period.

3. Theological controversy was widely reflected in Byzantine art. To a large extent this was due to the great influence of the liturgy on art in the 11–12th centuries.

Anti-Latin controversy that led to the Great schism of 1054 was reflected in the paintings of St. Sofia in Ohrid, Macedonia (mid-11th century). The rare polemical sharpness of this painting reflects its donor's will. Archbishop Leo, who had the church restored and commissioned the frescoes, was one of the leading polemicists of the time, known for his treatises against the Latins. In the bull laid by the papal legate on the altar of St. Sofia in Constantinople on July 16, 1054 the name of Leo was anathematised just after that of the patriarch Michael Cerularius. In 1053, his Epistle to «John of Trani and all the bishops and priests of franks, monks, the people... and the Pope» marked the beginning of the dispute. His treatise «On the Unleavened Bread» expresses the position of Constantinople regarding the question of what kind of bread should be used in liturgy: leavened bread or azymos. As the text of Leo's treatise argued the superiority of leavened bread on azymos, the paintings in St. Sofia emphasized this theory by creating a new iconography³⁹. In the Communion of the Apostles, Christ is shown behind the altar, celebrating the Liturgy, and literally demonstrating the bread of Communion – a lamb on a paten. In the scene of the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, incidentally also created in St. Sofia of Ohrid, St. Basil is bowing his head in prayer before a lamb on a paten on the altar. The anti-Latin sentiment of the donor was reflected also in the scenes depicted on the southern aisle of the church: in the apse there are six holy popes (their hair and beards tend to look like the Apostle Peter's), and in the middle, under the central window, the image of Christ the Priest was once depicted. The specially selected iconography of Christ the Priest aimed at emphasising the

³⁸ В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ – И.Б. ГОЛУБЕВА, *Собор Рождества Богородицы Снетогорского монастыря*, Москва 2002, pp. 58–60; В.Д. САРАБЬЯНОВ, *Иконографическая программа росписей собора Снетогорского монастыря (по материалам последних раскрытий)*, in *Древнерусское искусство. Византия и Древняя Русь*, Санкт-Петербург 1999, pp. 229–259.

³⁹ See А.М. Лидов, *Схизма и византийская храмовая декорация* in *Восточнохристианский храм. Литургия и искусство*, Санкт-Петербург 1994, pp. 17–35.

theory according to which the sole head of the Universal Church was Christ and not the Pope, whose pre-eminence was upheld by the Latins. Popes, as depicted in the diakonikon, should be shown due respect, but their place was secondary compared to that of the Patriarchs of Constantinople (e.g., John Chrysostom), whose portraits are in the central apse⁴⁰. The themes of unity and equal honour are stressed also by the group of saints – representatives of all the five patriarchates, located on the walls of the southern nave and in the apse of the central nave. These themes were treated using strong accents, not to be found elsewhere.

The next milestone in theological disputes occurs at the turn of the 11th and 12th century. The controversy between the rational and conservative orthodox theology at the end of the XI century led to the conviction of three followers of the well-known philosopher Michael Psellos: John Italos (1082), monk Neilos (1087) and Eustratius of Nicaea (1117). John Italos was accused of denying the dogma of the Incarnation. Conflicts continued through the first half of the 12th century (about 25 known cases) and resulted in the Council of Constantinople in 1156-1157⁴¹. There Soterichos Panteugenos raised the question about the nature of the eucharistic sacrifice and about the final verse of the Eucharistical hymn «Thou art the offering and the offered, taking and distributed, O Christ our God». Soterichos doubted that Christ could be at the same time both sacrificed and taking the sacrifice; he also wondered how the Eucharistic sacrifice could be offered at the same time to the whole Holy Trinity. This dispute was largely based on old grounds: the doubt as to the reality of the Incarnation and the hypostatic junction of the divine and human nature in Christ⁴². The Council's answer is well known: sacrifice is offered to the whole Trinity. These disputes caused a real outburst of iconography associated with the topic. V.D. Sarabyanov shows that, exactly at the end of the 11th century, the Service of the Holy Fathers appeared and very soon it replaced the frontal figures of bishops on the walls of the apse behind the altar⁴³ (for the first time – in the Church of Theotokos Eleusa in Veljusa, Macedonia, 1085-1093, and in

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ В.Д. Сарабьянов, *Программные основы древнерусской храмовой декорации второй половины XII века*, in *Вопросы искусствознания* 4 (1994), pp. 268-270. See also *Евхаристия*, in *Православная энциклопедия*, XVII, Москва 2008, pp. 615-635.

⁴² САРАБЬЯНОВ, *Программные* cit., p. 270.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

the Cathedral of the monastery of St. John Chrysostom in Kutsovendis in Cyprus, 1099–1102). The specifics of this type of image is that the bishops are depicted turning toward the centre of the apse, holding liturgical scrolls with prayers, and in the middle of the procession appears the Hetoimasia, or altar with the Sacraments. In the church of St. Panteleimon in Nerezi, Macedonia, Constantinopolitan artists carried out the decoration, commissioned by the member of the imperial family Alexios Comnenos Angelos in 1164. The paintings display an exact representation of the Hetoimasia, an ancient symbol of the Holy Trinity, and an especially clear visual rendition of the topic of the councils of 1156–1157. Similarly, the figures in the domes of Nerezi allow us to make a comparison among four different types of Christ: Christ Pantocrator, the Ancient of Days (the image of the first hypostasis in Byzantine art), Christ the Priest (the image of Christ's priesthood, «Thou art offering», a popular iconography from the XI century), Christ the Emmanuel (the image of the Eternal Word, the Incarnation and the Sacrifice) are apparently meant to illustrate the relationship between the divine and the human nature in Christ. Such comparisons also appear at the end of 11th century: three images of Christ were compared for the first time in Veljusa. Several monuments of the mid to late 12th century present a similar sequence of comparisons: in Russia alone there are three: Mirož (1142), Nereditsa (1199), and Arkaži (1178)⁴⁴. The topic of the Passion (more than half of the scenes are devoted to it) is especially emphasised in the decorative program of Nerezi, underlining at the same time the theme of the Sacrifice, also relevant in this period⁴⁵.

At the end of the century the polemics on liturgical issues continued in a different light. Michael Sikidites (whose identification with Michael Glykas is doubtful) thought that the communion represented the body of Christ on the cross, *i.e.* corruptible. His opponents, including Niketas Choniates, argued on the contrary that the community partook of Christ's resurrected body, *i.e.* incorruptible. After the death of patriarch George Xiphilinos, the Emperor Alexios III Angelos, sympathising with the idea that communion represented Christ's incorruptible body, called a Council. However, it did not reach any decision in favour of one party or another, but it stressed instead the unity of the Orthodox faith⁴⁶. This

⁴⁴ The analysis of their programmes in САРАБЬЯНОВ, *Программные* cit., p. 274–290.

⁴⁵ The analysis of its programme in I. SINKEVIĆ, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi: Architecture, programme, patronage*, Wiesbaden 2000.

⁴⁶ See Ch. KONSTANTINIDI, *Μελισμός*, Thessaloniki 2008 (Βυζαντινά μνημεία, 14), pp. 25–30.

kind of decision could be motivated by a concern for the unity of the weakening Empire, but also by the lack of a final resolution on this issue within the hierarchies of traditional Byzantine theology. This controversy, as we can infer from the evidence collected by Ch. Konstantinidi, gave probably birth to a new iconography, articulated in two types, called in its inscriptions «Melismos», *i.e.* fraction⁴⁷. One type places in the centre of a Service of holy bishops the depiction of the dead Christ in the form of a middle-aged man on the shroud, reminiscent of the funeral scene of the Lamentation (Samari in the Peloponnese, shortly before 1191)⁴⁸. Another type puts the living Christ Child on the altar at the centre of a similar composition (in the Church of St. George in Kurbinovo, Macedonia, 1191)⁴⁹. The image of the Child was deliberately chosen, symbolising from early times the Sacrifice as a representation of the incorruptible body of Christ, as opposed to the image of Christ at the Last Supper. The Sacraments were described using the image of the Child by various persons in numerous texts, *e.g.*, in the history of Abba Daniel (5th century)⁵⁰, in the Vision of Peter of Alexandria, and others. Later His images appear on a paten (the Church of St. Apostles in Serikari, Crete, 1437)⁵¹, in the chalice (St. Demetrios in Levada, Crete, 1292–1296)⁵², both on a paten and in the chalice – Churches of the Virgin in Donja Kamenica, 1320–1330⁵³, and St. Nicholas in Kakopetria, Cyprus, third quarter of the XIV century⁵⁴ –, in the hand of a saint bishop (Kokkine Panaghia in Konitsa, first quarter of the 15th century)⁵⁵, and as a pierced and broken Christ (St. John the Baptist in Axos, Crete, first half of the 14th century, prothesis of St. Nicholas in Ljuboten, ca. 1344–1345)⁵⁶. Both types of iconography were used until the end of Byzantium, but the second one clearly prevailed.

The 14th century was the last great age of theological controversy in Byzantium. The hesychast controversy and disturbance of the late 1330s–1340s was perhaps indirectly reflected in art: a specific dramatic atmos-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–64.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 10.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 9.

⁵⁰ *Apophthegmata patrum. Collectio alphabeticæ*, Daniel, 7: PG, 65, col. 160.

⁵¹ KONSTANTINIDI, Μελισμός cit., fig. 273.

⁵² *Ibid.*, fig. XXIII.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, fig. XXXIX.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 207.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 251–252.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. XLII, 162.

sphere, a palpable tension, *e.g.*, in the icon of John the Baptist from the State Hermitage, on the miniatures from the New Testament with Psalms (Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoricheskiy Muzej, Synod. gr. 407)⁵⁷. After the victory of the Palamites in the Council of 1351, hesychasm exercised a significant impact on the art of the second half of the 14th and early 15th centuries, less on the iconography than on the artistic contents, which emphasizes the mystical, introverted condition of human figures, especially monks. These tendencies can be seen in the images of holy warriors, saints, and angels, as in the frescoes of the Theotokos Peribleptos in Mystras⁵⁸, or the image of St. Athanasios of Athos, painted on the back of the icon of Christ Pantocrator, from the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos (the second half of the 14th century)⁵⁹. The theme of light is again of great importance in this period: cloths and landscapes are saturated with light, appearing mystically radiant, with sets of outgoing rays (the Transfiguration on the miniature from the theological works of John Kantakouzenos, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1242), reflected on the subject's face (the icon of Christ from the State Hermitage, 1363, the frescoes of Theophanes the Greek from the Church of the Savior on Ilyina Street in Novgorod, 1378)⁶⁰. The painters strove to exaggerate the old ways of illuminating the faces, using grids of fine highlighted brush strokes and the translucent glow of multiple layers of ochre. It is the most successful way to express theological themes: not through iconography and narrative, but through art's own devices, using the language of artistic forms and techniques. Great art always follows this path when trying to express abstract ideas.

ELENA VINOGRADOVA

⁵⁷ О.С. Попова, *Новый Завет с Псалтирию: греческий кодекс первой половины XIV в. из Синодальной библиотеки* (Син. гр. 407), in *Византийские и древнерусские миниатюры*, Москва 2003, pp. 45–61.

⁵⁸ M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Mystras*, Athens 2003, p. 77, fig. 71.

⁵⁹ Попова, *Проблемы* cit., pp. 684–685.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 687–712.

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